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[Report "On the Activity of the AWP Central Committee," delivered by Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, on 1 November at the Eighth AWP Congress in Tirana; Chapters I through III of the report, ending with the seventh paragraph on page 50, the section covering domestic policy, are supplied from ZERI I POPULLIT; the remainder of the report, the section on foreign policy, is supplied from several excerpts on this section carried by Tirana ATA in English on 2 and 3 November which, when combined, are identical to the ZERI I POPULLIT section on foreign policy. The subheads in the foreign policy section are those supplied by ATA]

[Text] Dear comrades, the party and all our people are coming to this congress with great successes and remarkable victories. Socialist Albania has risen to a higher level in its economic and cultural development and made new strides in raising the well-being of the masses and in strengthening the country's defense.

The 5 years that have elapsed since the seventh congress have been a period of heroic struggle by our working masses on all fronts to further socialist construction and to make our new life even more prosperous and flourishing. Under the party's leadership and with firm conviction in its correct line, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the youth and the intelligentsia have unsparingly poured all their physical and mental energies to successfully meet and overcome the difficulties of socialist growth, as well as those created by our foreign enemies.

As in previous congresses, our party is coming to the present congress boldly and proudly because it has successfully completed the great tasks it undertook and because it has fully justified the great trust of the people in the party. Our people can be pleased with their work and efforts. This has been creative and fruitful work that has brought them new joy and progress and has made them more optimistic and happy.

During the period of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, the country's industrialization has advanced unchecked. The valuable utilization of our mineral wealth and other raw materials has been raised to a higher level. The construction of new projects such as the "Steel of the Party" metallurgical combine, the ferrochrome plant, the pyrometallurgical plant, the deep processing oil refinery and so forth, has made it possible to transform and process a large proportion of minerals and other raw materials in the country itself, thus creating a sound and secure base for the development of the economy as a whole. This represents a success for the party's correct line and the same applies for the construction of a powerful energy base, which was further extended with the commissioning of all the turbines of the "Light of the Party" hydroelectric powerplant.

Our agriculture has made new and bigger strides in all directions. The party's efforts to transform our agriculture into a socialist agriculture of large-scale and modern production set up on an increasingly more powerful technical base and relying on the most advanced agrotechnical knowledge has proved in practice to be a correct and totally feasible orientation. The increase in agricultural produce and livestock products from year to year and the increasingly improved fulfillment of the needs of the population and of industry with these products fully confirm this.

Visible progress has been made in the field of culture and education. Our socialist culture has further enhanced its socialist content, its national traits and its popular spirit. Culture and all its values are penetrating increasingly more among the masses. The fact that our new culture has withstood the various pressures and influences of the bourgeois and revisionist culture and preserved its socialist originality and traits is one of its merits. Popular education has progressed and has fully implemented the party's instructions to ensure the broad education of the young generation and to give the country the specialists it needs at the standard required by our development at its present and future stage.

In this grave period of crises that have engulfed the capitalist and revisionist world, which is characterized by numerous political crises, stagnation and declining production, declining living standards and moral decadence, our country enjoys complete economic and political stability, society is sound and the present and future of the people is secure. During the 5-year period that has elapsed, a large number of people educated by the party and by our state power have started to work for the first time, thus adding to and further strengthening the great army of working people in the cities and in the countryside. The importance of this fact is all the greater when we take into consideration the fact that in today's world not only is work not guaranteed to the younger generation, but even the older generation is left without work.

Our state power has been further strengthened and democratized. The participation of the masses in the country's administration has become more active and has been raised to a higher level. Our socialist democracy has been further expanded and better conditions have been created for the people to fully enjoy their guaranteed rights and to better fulfill their own obligations to society.

The internal situation has never been sounder than it is today. The compactness of the unity of the people, the alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry and the cooperation and solidarity among the various strata of our society have been further strengthened and consolidated. The party's links with the people have been further steeled and their mutual trust has been further tempered.

The determination, fervor and heroism with which our people are struggling to fulfill the tasks set out by the party to overcome various difficulties encountered on our road and to successfully withstand the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement are a brilliant reflection of this great unity.

Owing to the party's correct line and its particular solicitude, Socialist Albania today enjoys a secure and invincible defense. Our people and army are constantly maintaining their vigilance at a high level and are standing unafraid and ready to defend the country's freedom and independence and the victories of socialism.

Our country is honored and respected by the progressive and freedom-loving peoples and states throughout the world. Its international position is strong. Its friends and well-wishers are daily becoming more numerous. The resolute and principled struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism has increased the sympathy and love of the Marxists-Leninists, revolutionaries and all honest and democratic persons for the AWP and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Our party and people have successfully withstood the severe test which our country was confronted with as a result of the sudden and brutal breaking off of economic relations by China. The Chinese revisionists believed that their hostile act would bring chaos to our economy and that they would prevent its development for a long time. They believed that they could force Albania to make political and ideological concessions, to beg from foreigners and to seek support and assistance from abroad. But the Chinese, as well as international reaction, which hoped that Albania would be forced to change course, failed completely. Our people overcame the difficulties that were created with great political maturity, a lofty patriotic spirit, a new mobilization of its forces and with a profound belief in the victory of their struggle.

The AWP is coming to its eighth congress tempered by new battles and a richer experience. It comes to the congress like a great army and educated with the Marxist-Leninist proletarian ideology, with a strong internal unity and closely linked with the people; with increased organizational, mobilization and leadership ability and ready, as always, to assume new and greater tasks and to fulfill them, as always, successfully.

The timing of this congress coincides with a glorious anniversary, the anniversary of the founding of our heroic AWP. Forty years ago the people entrusted to the Albanian communists their destiny, their life and the country's future.

Our party justified this trust with its glorious deed, the victory of the revolution and the creation of the new Socialist Albania. Inspired by the people's trust and conscious of its historic responsibility and the lofty mission it undertook, the AWP has led the Albanian people with a sharp mind and sure hand from one battle to the next, from one victory to the next.

The magnificent achievements attained under the party's leadership in the years of our free life have shown that no force can shake and obscure socialism in Albania, the country's freedom and independence and our brilliant prospects. The consistent implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance, the policy of creating modern industry based on the country's raw materials and of an agriculture that guarantees the people's food through its own produce and the training of a sufficient number of technical and scientific cadres capable of working and administering every sector -- all this has been our salvation in all directions. It is this wise and farsighted policy of the party that has created that secure base on which our unchecked economic and cultural development are resting and which guarantees our socialist road.

The achievement of economic independence in addition to political independence, the securing of our country's defense by the people themselves and the education and arming of the working masses with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, constitute those strong and unshakable pillars on which our socialist fortress rests and are fundamental characteristics of a genuine socialist state. Taken together, these achievements also constitute the historic experience of socialism in Albania. Albania's experience shows that even a small country with a backward material and technical base can attain a rapid and all-round economic and cultural development, secure its independence and withstand the onslaughts of international capital and imperialism, when it is led by a genuine Marxist-Leninist, when it is determined to fight to the end for its ideals and when it is convinced that it can do all this.

The AWP will also continue in the future to advance resolutely and firmly on the brilliant road that it has followed in the 40 years of its existence. Joined with the people like flesh to the bone, at their head and together with the people, the AWP will struggle with devotion and shirk from no sacrifice to ensure new progress and victories for our people and our socialist homeland.

I. The Development of the Economy and the Party's Tasks

The country's socialist economy is entering the new 5-year period of its development stable, full of dynamism and with considerable possibilities to further develop and expand social production and to raise its effectiveness in all directions.

The main tasks of the Sixth 5-Year Plan have generally been successfully fulfilled. This has further strengthened the country's material and technical base, has increased the raw material and energy resources of the country and has ensured better conditions for a harmonious, rapid and unchecked development of the economy. The rapid development of production forces continued during the Sixth 5-Year Period; the intensive development of the economy and the technical-scientific revolution were further deepened and made considerable progress. Industry, agriculture and other branches of the economy made further progress. Compared with 1975, social production in 1980 increased about 25 percent and industrial production over 34 percent, at a pace 2-3 times faster than the population growth rate.

Consistently implementing the party's economic policy, considerable improvements were made in the structure of industrial production and the proportion of the means of production increased. Industry met the needs of the population better than before and its role in the all-round development of the economy and in the country's defense increased.

Compared with the fifth 5-year period, agricultural production increased 21 percent. Agriculture met the country's needs for bread grains, other foodstuffs, as well as for the most essential raw materials, and increased the volume of exports of agricultural produce.

Our party and state utilized the country's internal resources and possibilities to a higher degree to fulfill the planned tasks of the sixth 5-year period. The uninterrupted financing needed for the country's economic and cultural development was ensured, about 300 important projects were constructed and commissioned and exports of commodities increased 51 percent.

The country's growing economic potential and the implementation of a number of measures of a socioeconomic nature guaranteed the attained level of the people's well-being and raised it further. The real per capita income of the population increased both in the cities and in the countryside. Retail trade increased nearly 20 percent. The people's housing conditions were further improved and measures were adopted to extend social services. About 20,000 people completed their higher education and over 113,000 completed their secondary studies. That is 57 percent more than in the fifth 5-year period.

These achievements in the country's socioeconomic development assume particular significance when we consider what is happening in the capitalist-revisionist world, where the economic crisis and its severe consequences for the working masses and all aspects of life, has caused stagnation and declining production. These achievements constitute a great victory for our party and people.

In the name of the party and of the people, I congratulate from the tribune of this congress the workers, specialists and cadres in the construction sector and industry, who, even in the difficult circumstances caused by the Chinese revisionists, answered the party's call, met the challenge and completed the construction and commissioning of the large projects of the sixth 5-year period, which have further strengthened our socialist homeland.

Despite the successes attained, we are also aware of the nonfulfillment of certain tasks of the 5-year plan, as in the fields of investments and construction, agricultural production, certain industrial products and labor productivity. The party, state organs and working collectives have analyzed these failures and have drawn lessons to eliminate the shortcomings in the organization and management of the economy.

On the basis of the party's general line and economic policy for the construction of socialism, after all-round work and study and after broad consultation with the people, the AWP Central Committee has prepared the draft directives for the Seventh 5-Year Plan for the development of the economy and culture during the 1981-5 period, which it presents for examination and approval to the congress. The fundamental task of this 5-year period is: The all-round development of the economy relying entirely on our forces on the basis of the deepening of the country's industrialization, the strengthening and intensification of agriculture, the increased effectiveness of the economy, the development of the technical-scientific revolution and the improvement of socialist production relations with the intention of ensuring and gradually raising the material well-being and the cultural standard of the working masses and of further strengthening the socialist order and the country's defense potential.

The main directions and objectives of the country's economic and cultural development during the 5-year period, which is distinguished by a number of particular characteristics, are also synthesized within this general task.

This is the first 5-year plan to be fulfilled relying entirely on our own forces and possibilities. Albania is presently the only country in the world which is developing and progressing on the road of socialism without any kind of aid or credits from outside. This is a great but glorious test for our people and party and victory is certain because, advancing on the basis of Marxism-Leninism we have been preparing for a long time for this decisive step.

The next 5-year plan contains greater tasks and objectives than all previous plans. They are scientifically planned and completely feasible. For the 5 years 1981-5, the volume of social production and investments will be greater than the volume achieved during the first four 5-year periods taken together and the volume of exports will be even greater. Compared with 1980, the volume of social production in 1985 is expected to increase 34-36 percent, at an average annual rate of 6.4 percent. Investment and construction funds will be used to erect about 750 important projects for the development of the economy and culture.

As a result of the possibilities created through increased production and the increase in national incomes, the people's consumption fund is expected to increase 21 percent in 1985, compared with 1980, and retail trade 22-24 percent. Important tasks are stipulated for the development of education and culture, health services, housing and other vital services.

The existing and future possibilities of the economy, the needs of economic development, the need to provide employment to all active new forces, the need to further strengthen the country's defense, to increase reserves, to develop the sociocultural sectors and to increasingly better meet the growing demands of the people -- all this has been considered in determining these tasks and rates of development. A considerable number of the tasks of this 5-year period, particularly those pertaining to the utilization of oil and mineral reserves, investments and so forth, have been considered in close relationship with the development of the economy in the 5-year periods to come, when we will confront even greater needs and demands.

Considerable structural improvements will be made during the seventh 5-year period in the field of production, retail trade and the people's consumption. These improvements will include energy resources, ferrous metallurgy, the engineering industry, agriculture, transportation, finances, mass consumer commodities and so forth. The stipulated improvements will lead to the intensification of the economy, raise its effectiveness, and make the economy more capable of meeting the encirclement and blockade, as well as the pressure of the economic crisis of the capitalist and revisionist world.

The development and strengthening of the country's material-technical base, as always, will be achieved in close relationship with the improvement of the various aspects of economic relations in the cities and particularly in the countryside. Important measures have been and are being implemented for the further development of the cooperative system to reduce the size of private yards, to expand specialization and cooperation, to consolidate the organization and management of production and to better harmonize the remuneration for work with the quantity and quality of work, savings and plan fulfillment. These measures will be promoted further with the aim of constantly strengthening our socialist system.

The AWP Central Committee report on the draft directives for the development of the economy and culture for the 1981-85 period, to be delivered by Comrade Mehmet Shehu, will include more details on the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. In this report, therefore, we will deal only with some fundamental problems of the party's economic policy pertaining to the current and future socioeconomic development of the country.

1. The Further Strengthening of Industry -- A Decisive Factor for the Country's All-Round Development

The country's socialist industrialization has occupied and continues to occupy a major place in the party's economic policy. The country's socialist industrialization have developed from one 5-year period to the next as a great and unchecked process. It has been and continues to be a decisive factor in the country's all-round development on the road of socialism. The creation and consolidation of our multifaceted industry, both the light and heavy industry, on the basis of our own resources and wealth and with clear development prospects, is a monumental achievement by our party and people. It has been attained with great effort, sacrifice and unprecedented heroism. It is an achievement of historic importance for the present as well as the future generations.

Our industry will progress even more during the seventh 5-year period and will develop on a broad front. About 46 percent of all investments to be made during this 5-year period will be devoted to this branch. The party's policy for the development of industry aims to consolidate the multifaceted structure of industry, giving priority, as always, to heavy industry; to preserve and further improve the positive balance of energy resources, devoting particular attention to the oil industry; to further develop the mineral extraction and processing industry, including the utilization of new minerals; to make considerable improvements in the structure of the means of production and consumer commodities; to place industry even more in the service of the intensification of agriculture; to increase existing production capacities through their reconstruction and modernization.

Progressing resolutely on this road, industrial production will continue to increase at a rapid pace. In 1985, compared with 1980, it will increase 36-38 percent. Closely related to a number of other economic and social factors, this material development will make it possible for our country to progress as a country with an advanced industry and agriculture.

The party devotes particular attention to the energy industry, to the extraction of oil, gas and coal and to the production of electricity. We have created a powerful and independent energy system which meets the country's growing needs for energy and secures considerable foreign currency earnings from its export. This is a great victory for the party's correct policy and a secure base for the development of the entire national economy.

This victory must be consolidated and furthered, primarily through investments and increased output, but also by utilizing all our energy resources as economically as possible and with the strictest control possible. The solution to these problems requires a well-organized, disciplined and systematic effort carried out on sound scientific and methodological bases. The development of this vital branch of capital and strategic importance is stipulated as an imperative task, particularly under the circumstances of the world energy crisis.

Oil and gas extraction and processing will be our main energy resources. Oil extraction in 1985 will increase 58-60 percent compared with 1980. This is a considerable and completely feasible task because it is based on existing fields as well as on the known reserves that have been tapped.

The fulfillment of tasks concerning the extraction of oil and gas and the increased effectiveness of the great expenditure carried out in this branch of industry required that the workers, specialists and cadres in this branch of industry should pay particular attention to the improvement of exploration and exploitation methods, relying fully on the achievements of science and on the implementation of a strict technical and labor discipline.

The expenditure made for the extraction of oil and gas should be based on profound and responsible studies. Full technical, organizational and material measures are to be adopted to increase oil extraction not only from the fields that have been discovered, but also from the old ones, making better use than hitherto of intensive and secondary methods. We must progress economically in this vital sector, on the basis of secure and known reserves, and we must use the oil and the gas as economically as possible. We must think about the present as well as the future. The scientific and technical personnel should engage themselves more fully to accelerate the utilization of bituminous sands at a high degree of effectiveness since this represents a great wealth of the country, which must be brought into economic circulation as quickly as possible.

Coal, a fuel to be found in massive amounts and of great economic profitability, occupies an important place in the country's energy resources. Compared with 1980, coal extraction will increase 48 percent in 1985. This is a considerable task and its fulfillment will require a persistent effort by the workers in this sector.

Attention must be centered not only on the rational utilization of the existing coal mines, but also on the profitable opening of new mines. The exploration of coal with a higher calorific value and for coking purposes must be extended. Great efforts must be made everywhere to replace liquid fuels with coal and to use it with the utmost economy. It is also necessary to take measures to enrich and briquet coal, as well as to increase its profitable use.

The production of electricity in 1985, compared with 1980, will increase 16 percent. In order to meet the growing needs of the country for electricity and to intensively use the hydroelectric resources, in which our country is considerably rich, large-scale construction of the Koman hydroelectric powerplant will continue throughout this 5-year period. This powerplant will be more powerful than any other powerplant built so far. It will also be necessary to commence preparations for the construction of other hydroelectric powerplants, both large and small, in order not only to meet current and future needs, but also to increase exports of electricity.

The production and utilization of electricity must be seen in conjunction. The party and the state and economic organs must work to change certain concepts held by individuals to ensure that electricity is really valued as a great national asset, that its use is strictly controlled to ensure maximum economy in all fields, particularly its use in the field of material production, where scientifically-studied norms should be established for every kilowatt used.

The seventh 5-year period opens up great vistas for the mineral extraction and processing industry. The extraction of the known reserves of chrome, copper and ferronickel will continue on a large scale, ranging from 30 percent to twice as much more. Conditions have by now also been created to increase the extraction of other valuable minerals such as phosphorite, quartz, mineral salt, deolomite, olivinite, bauxite and so forth.

Present and future needs pose the task of expanding the extraction and enrichment of the poorer minerals and of increasing the degree of their effectiveness, as well as of raising the value of our mineral wealth and of utilizing all fields, be they new or old, whose reserves may be poor in quality, but large in size.

Geologists and all other mineral explorers are faced with the task of raising the effectiveness of their drilling surveys as well as of increasing mineral reserves, particularly in the existing mines, of discovering new fields in areas where prospects are good or where no surveys have been made. They must do this on the basis of scientific generalizations and boldly using new and more complicated methods, as well as by improving the organization of the work.

The mine workers and specialists must attach particular importance to improving extraction techniques and technology, to raising the degree of mechanization and that of qualification at work, and they must achieve a visible change in the quality of the mineral extracted, reduce costs and mineral losses.

Particular attention will be paid to the metallurgical sector as a whole and to the siderurgical sector in particular not only in order to deepen the fully cycle of processing of our major minerals, but also to strengthen our economy's lack of dependence on imports. Our metallurgical workers must therefore mobilize all their efforts and abilities to learn and master the technologies of mineral smelting and the various aspects of metal processing with strict discipline and on scientific bases in order to fully utilize these metals and reduce material and energy expenditure, which is still high. The large-scale extensions being planned for the "Steel of the Party" metallurgical combine, the construction of tube plants, sheet steel plants and carbonic products plant will require deep studies and intensive efforts.

Now that we are producing our own steel and have set up a powerful engineering industry, conditions have been created to set forth considerable tasks for this branch. The production of the engineering industry in 1985 will be 43-45 percent higher than in 1980.

The engineering industry did well in fulfilling the tasks set forth by the Seventh AWP Congress for the production of spare parts, meeting 95 percent of the country's needs for them. This achievement will have to be consolidated during the current 5-year period, radically improving the quality as well as the recycling of spare parts.

During the years spanning the current 5-year period, the engineering industry will enter more fully in the production of equipment and machinery for the construction of new production lines and factories, reconstructions and all kinds of expansions of production capacities. The fulfillment of this task requires that the organization and management of this branch of industry be further improved and that processing technologies, planning, cooperation and the standardization of production be placed on as scientific a basis as possible.

Urgent and complete measures are to be adopted particularly to prepare technological and construction projects for the equipment and machinery for new plants and the reconstructions to be carried out during this 5-year period. The designing and production of this equipment and machinery on time and on a high quality basis is one of the most difficult tasks that our engineering industry will be confronted with.

The introduction of the engineering industry on the road of large-scale production of machinery strongly raises the need for the qualification of the workers and the development of their creative thinking, the need to train higher and medium-grade cadres also for more narrow and particular specialties by making the necessary changes in the teaching programs of the vocational schools and of the university.

The chemical industry will have considerable development and will be expanded during the current 5-year period. Its production in 1985 will increase 63-65 percent compared with 1980. Particular importance will be attached to increasing the production of phosphate fertilizers and pesticides. Having at their disposal a considerable number of basic products, industrial waste and mineral waste, chemists and other specialists should study and create a wider range of chemical products and reagents in order to reduce their imports as soon as possible. The beginnings of chemical synthesis must also be promoted, relying primarily on the country's own raw materials, and the goal must be set to use its products also as a source of exports in the not-too-distant future.

The party has always considered that in the development of industry as a whole in accordance with the needs of the people, the production of mass consumer goods for the people should also increase, ensuring stability and a constant improvement of the material and cultural standard of the working masses. The production of the light and foodstuffs industry will increase for this purpose at a rate which is double that of the population growth.

A real turning point must be made in the products of the light and foodstuffs industry. A radical improvement must be made in the structure of commodities, their variety, quality, packaging and in cost reduction. This can be done only through fuller and more effective methods in the field of planning and management, as well as in production technology. Above all, handicraft concepts must change, creative imagination and thinking must be developed, and agility and rapidity is required to effect positive changes and to open up the way to what is new.

Big investments have been made to set up and develop industry, and an entire army of qualified and devoted workers has been created who constitute a powerful base for the development of this vital sector of the economy.

The fulfillment of the great tasks stipulated by the party requires that the workers in the industrial sector should raise the effectiveness of production and labor productivity and that they should raise their creativity to a higher level. They must make wide use of the numerous production capacities at their disposal and master production technologies in the new projects and lines that will be completed and commissioned, as well as in those which will be reconstructed during the years of the 5-year period.

The people and the party are fully confident that the working people in all branches of industry, aware of the situation we are facing, will redouble their efforts to achieve the objectives and to fulfill the great tasks stipulated by this congress for the development and consolidation of our socialist industry.

2. Agricultural Production Is to be Further Intensified and Socialist Relations in the Countryside Perfected

Our party has worked out and implemented a Marxist-Leninist agrarian policy, considering the historic conditions and specific circumstances in which our people's revolution triumphed and in which our country embarked on the road of socialism. In the conditions of a considerably backward agrarian country, the party had to resolve two tasks simultaneously: The socialist transformation of the countryside and the all-round development of agriculture. Agriculture had to create the possibility of feeding the rural population and make a considerable contribution to the country's industrialization and the development of the national economy. The fulfillment of these fundamental tasks required not a haphazard development of agriculture, but only its socialist development on the basis of large-scale and modern production in close relationship with all other branches and sectors of the economy.

The revolutionary transformations and progress that have been effected in agriculture represent one of the greater victories of the party's line and policy for the construction of socialism. The fact that during nearly four decades of the people's state power agricultural production in our country has increased and continues to increase at a rate that is generally twice as fast as the population growth, the fact that the real per capita income of the villagers has increased 10-20 percent from one 5-year period to the next and the fact that agricultural produce per unit of arable land has increased 1.7 times, compared with 1960, and 1.6 times for every agricultural worker -- all this speaks for the correctness of this policy. Although not all the tasks were completely fulfilled in accordance with the plan during the sixth 5-year period, average annual production was 21.4 percent greater than during the fifth 5-year period.

Consistently following its agrarian policy, the party has stipulated new and more important objectives for the development of agriculture and the progress of our socialist countryside during the seventh 5-year period. The tasks stipulated in the new 5-year plan by the AWP Central Committee for the agricultural sector aim: to increase production in order to increasingly better meet the needs of the population with foodstuffs and to improve its structure; to considerably increase the production of raw materials for the light and foodstuffs industry; to gradually remove from the list of imports those foodstuffs and raw agricultural products that are still imported; to increase the volume of agricultural exports, both processed and unprocessed; and to increase and strengthen the necessary reserves. The well-being of the villagers will be increased and the differences between the cities and the countryside will be further narrowed on the basis of these objectives.

These great problems for the development of agriculture are related to the present as well as the future of the country. For all these reasons, agriculture will occupy a special and more important place than hitherto in the current 5-year period. Compared with the sixth 5-year period, total agricultural production in the seventh 5-year period will increase 30-32 percent. About 29 percent of all investments effected during the 5-year period will go to the agricultural sector. About 60 percent of the additional active manpower will be directed to this sector and a broader material-technical base will be placed at its disposal. The workers of the agricultural and all other sectors connected with the agriculture are thus confronted with great and militant tasks.

Grain production remains, as always, the primary task of agriculture. Every year we must meet the needs of a population that is growing uninterruptedly; we must meet the growing needs of the livestock sector for concentrated and industrialized fodder, as well as other essential grain needs.

These problems cannot be resolved by constantly increasing the acreage of land sown with grain. On the contrary, the stress must be placed on constantly increasing yields and on improving the structure of grains. This is all the more essential when the population is increasing rapidly and, consequently, the per capita acreage of arable land tends to be reduced. The entire increase in grain production, of about 20 percent during the seventh 5-year period compared with the previous 5-year period, must therefore be secured entirely from increased yields. The tasks in this field are very serious and require extraordinary care on the part of the party, state and economic organs, as well as all the working people in the agricultural sector.

In addition to the increase in grain production, measures must also be strengthened at all stages of procurement, processing and utilization of grains to eliminate all losses or damage. We must also move in the direction of reducing the per capita consumption of bread in the cities as well as in the countryside. We must progress on this road with a scientifically worked out program to improve the structure of our food, increasing the production and consumption of vegetables, potatoes, fruit, livestock products and so forth. The issue is that without lowering living standards, but on the contrary raising it, the population will be supplied with more milk, meat, vegetables and so forth, thus reducing the consumption of bread.

Therefore, in addition to increasing the per capita production of vegetables, potatoes and beans, and reducing production costs, a more organized effort must be made to study the demands and tastes of people and to change the present and almost handicraft-like mentality in connection with the transportation, industrialization and sale of these products. The solid tasks stipulated in the current 5-year period with regard to the production of vegetables, potatoes and beans require the application of comprehensive agrotechnical measures, as well as the concentration and specialization of production, particularly around the larger cities, with the aim of fulfilling the plan in terms of quantity, quality and timeliness throughout the year.

The state and the agricultural cooperatives have made considerable investments for the development of horticulture. But these investments, particularly in the cooperatives, have had a low degree of effectiveness and the proportion occupied by this sector in agricultural production is still relatively small. To fulfill the growing tasks in the horticultural sector it is therefore necessary, primarily, to value this sector more highly, to combat those concepts that underrate this sector and the lack of interest shown in this great wealth of our country. Servicing of fruit and olive trees must be carried out in full, and suitable conditions must be created for large-scale irrigation.

New investments must be concentrated primarily on filling the existing plantations and rebuilding the vineyards. Studies must be undertaken and a greater effort must be made to increase and improve the varieties of fruit. More areas around the cities should be planted with fruit tree plantations and, within possibilities, more joint investments should be made between the state and cooperatives.

The needs of the people and the development of a multifaceted agriculture require that the structure of industrial crops be improved, that more concentration and specialization take place in the districts and those units where good results have been attained, that more high-yield seeds be secured and that more modern production technologies be applied. With regard to industrial crops, we should bear in mind the general orientation that the needs of the people and of the economy should be met through home production.

As regards forestry, in addition to advancing more rapidly in the direction of balancing the cutting down of forest trees with the annual natural growth, the aim must be to transform our forests into complex economic units where, in addition to the extraction of timber, secondary forestry products should also be cultivated and extracted, such as oleoresins, medical herbs and so forth, and wild game should be allowed to increase.

The objectives set out in the current 5-year period for the livestock sector require greater care by the party, state and economic organs as well as by all the working people in the agricultural sector for this important branch.

Despite the progress made, the level of production and modernization of the livestock sector does not correspond with the investments that have been made and the growing need for livestock products. The draft directives stipulate a 30-32 percent increase in milk production, a 53-55 percent increase in meat production, a 50-52 percent increase in the production of eggs, and so forth, to be achieved in 1985 compared with 1980. These objectives are based on a further increase in the number of livestock, but particularly on the increased productivity of all kinds of livestock. The task is that yields of between twice and three times the average yields secured hitherto on a national level must be secured from cows and other livestock of improved breeds. To achieve this, it is necessary to radically change concepts and attitudes with regards to the needs and requirements of the development of large-scale livestock raising set up on scientific bases and a variety of livestock.

The primary problem in the livestock sector is how to implement a complete and suitable system of measures to double and treble the yields of forage crops and the productive capacities of natural pastures, to gather and utilize all reserves and all byproducts of the livestock sector and to apply a more advanced technology in the processing of concentrated fodder and other agricultural and industrial products used to feed livestock.

We have made and will continue to make investments and take measures to set up modern complexes to strengthen the livestock-raising sector, to produce more meat and eggs, as well as to process and turn fodder into silage. But care should be taken to make these investments on time and to make certain that they give the required results. On the other hand, it must be well borne in mind that the overwhelming proportion of livestock, of this great wealth, is concentrated in agricultural cooperatives and in the herds created with the livestock of the members of these cooperatives. Great care must therefore be taken in the husbandry of this livestock to increase production and to reduce the cost of livestock products in all areas of the country.

The fulfillment of the tasks facing the agricultural sector in the seventh 5-year period will be achieved like never before through intensification. Ninety percent of the increase in the total agricultural production is expected to come as a result of increased yields of crops and livestock products, compared with a 45-70 percent increase resulting from higher yields in the previous 5-year period.

Setting out great tasks to accelerate the intensification of agriculture, we must also persistently continue in the future the efforts to increase the acreage of arable land because our country still has sizable hilly and mountainous areas that can be brought under cultivation. Efforts must also be made to gain new land through desalination and so forth.

Another considerable problem related to the intensification of agriculture concerns a better harmonization on the basis of scientific criteria of the human, material, agro-technical and natural factors conditioning agricultural production. This is a general question pertaining to every economic unit, district or area. The vanguard specialists, cadres and working people at the base, the economic and planning organs, as well as the research-scientific institutions have a wide field of study and of creative action here.

Investments and care for the soil must also constitute in the future the major direction of the work for the intensification of agriculture and increased agricultural production. This requires the application of all-round measures to increase soil fertility, to protect the soil from erosion and to improve and enrich the soil through combined fertilization. This also requires the production and use of high-yield seeds that are immune to disease, pests and unfavorable natural factors.

The numerous problems related to the intensification of agriculture can be successfully resolved only by placing the entire agricultural production on strictly scientific bases. The Eighth AWP Central Committee Plenum issued very important orientations and directives to all scientific bodies in the agricultural sector, from the base to the center. It is a primary duty of the party organizations and of the state and economic organs to see to it that this program is persistently implemented.

To achieve this, it is essential to have a correct understanding of the importance and great role of scientific research and experimentation in the agricultural sector and to adopt all the necessary organizational measures to ensure that the results of these studies are turned into wide production as soon as possible.

In the context of the work to be carried out in the agricultural sector during the current 5-year period, the AWP Central Committee suggests to the congress the implementation of a number of important measures to give priority to the intensification of production in the most fertile plains of the country within a 10-year period. The first stage of this program, which is expected to be implemented during the seventh 5-year period, is to be extended over an area of more than 100,000 hectares of the coastal lowland. The aim of this action is to increase agricultural and livestock produce in those areas where the work and the investments can be more effective and give more rapid results. This will also create favorable conditions for a more rapid development of the cooperatives and for the gradual move from group property to property of all the people. In undertaking this action, the investments and other essential material resources for the development of agriculture in other areas will not be affected. On the contrary, work will continue for the further development and strengthening of all agricultural cooperatives.

The successful completion of this great task requires a careful, programmed and well-organized effort on the part of the ministry of agriculture, the state planning commission, the ministry of finance and other central departments, as well as district party and state organs included in the area where this higher intensification of agriculture will be carried out.

The level attained in the development of production forces and the new steps to be taken in the seventh 5-year period and in future will be accompanied by and depend on the further improvement of socialist relations in the countryside. The AWP Central Committee has carefully studied and approved the revolutionary initiatives of the peasantry to further limit the size of private yards and to herd together the private livestock of cooperative members, and it has adopted and continues to adopt comprehensive measures to properly support this progressive process in the countryside. The party highly values the revolutionary spirit and ardent patriotism of the cooperativist peasantry in this step of particular importance to strengthen the cooperative system in our country.

The party is fully convinced that the limitation of the private yards and the herding together of the livestock of cooperative members will surely lead to increased agricultural produce and livestock products and to the further improvement of the general well-being of the peasantry. As ancillary and temporary economic units, the private yards are gradually fading away into extinction.

The implementation of the program to accelerate the intensification of agricultural production in the country's lowlands will also bring important changes to the socialist production relations in this area. This will bring about the gradual narrowing of the sphere of the cooperative property's sphere of relations until it is transformed, at a later date, into property of all the people. Until then the cooperativists in the area where the intensification of agriculture is to be accelerated will continue to be remunerated as they are now on the basis of norms and working days. Meanwhile, efforts will be made to gradually raise the level of remuneration to that of the workers in agricultural enterprises.

In addition, work will continue on the consolidation of the higher-type cooperatives, some of which will be transformed into agricultural enterprises. Other higher-type cooperatives will be set up in the lowlands. Some cooperatives in the hilly and mountainous regions may also be transformed into higher-type cooperatives, depending on their development and on the state's possibilities.

In programming these new steps, the party will continue to devote great attention in the future to the development and consolidation of cooperatives in the hilly and mountainous regions. This is where a large part of the country's population is living and where a considerable part of the arable land is to be found. The acceleration of intensification in the lowlands will create larger material and financial possibilities in the hands of the state to make investments and to assist these areas even more.

Particular attention and care must be devoted to the development and consolidation of all agricultural enterprises, combating the shortcomings and weaknesses in some of them. The task stipulated long ago by the party, that agricultural enterprises should be in the vanguard must be persistently implemented.

The magnificent objectives of the new 5-year plan open up brilliant vistas of development and progress to agriculture and our socialist countryside. Their attainment requires mobilization and the persistent work of all workers in the agricultural sector, the improvement of planning, organization and management in agricultural production and all subsequent stages, in the procurement organs, the light and foodstuffs industry organs and by the organs of the internal and external trade sectors. Particularly important tasks confront the Ministry of Agriculture and its dependent organs and institutions to rise to the level of the great problems raised by this congress for the development of agriculture.

The successful fulfillment of tasks in the field of agriculture will be another great victory of the party's agrarian policy, which is diametrically opposed to the policy followed in the revisionist countries, where agriculture is at an impasse. As is known, in those countries the Leninist road of collectivization was relinquished long ago. The form of collective capitalism existing in the Soviet Union and elsewhere is now being largely accompanied also by direct forms of private property. Individual private economic units are seen by the revisionists as a major source of meat, milk and other agricultural products. They are even being allowed to feed and raise the livestock belonging to kolkhozes and sovkhoses, thus liquidating all traces of the socialist system in the countryside. This is the road which has led the agriculture of some of these countries into a profound crisis. In some of these countries the shortage of foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials has currently become one of the most serious problems in the life of the working masses.

3. Investments and Constructions -- An Important Base for the Economy's Constant Consolidation

Great efforts were made during the previous 5-year period to fulfill the investment and capital construction plans set out by the Seventh AWP Congress. The hostile activity of the Chinese revisionists caused severe damage in this field and prevented the attainment of objectives in this field more than in any other field. Despite this, owing to the all-round measures adopted by the party and the state, during the sixth 5-year period a volume of investments was carried out which was 15 percent higher than in the fifth 5-year period.

The production potential that has been created and the growing internal accumulation resources make it possible to undertake an investment and construction program previously unseen, with a total volume of over 25 billion leks, or 22-24 percent more than in the previous 5-year period. This is a significant reflection of the superiority and vitality of our socioeconomic system and of the creative abilities and endless energy of the broad working masses, as well as of the correctness of the principle of self-reliance.

In determining investments, their structure and specific projects, the prospects for the development of the various branches of the economy and culture, the consolidation of the country's independence and defense potential, and the guarantee and gradual improvement of the well-being of the population have been taken into consideration.

As always in investment policy, priority will be given to material production. While investments in the sphere of material production accounted for 77 percent of all investments in the previous 5-year period, they will account for 83 percent in the current 5-year period. This distribution of investments is being made because production is the base of the people's well-being and of the country's strength.

The bigger investments will again be directed to the development of industry and agriculture, which will account for over 74 percent of all investments, with an increase of approximately 37 percent compared with the previous 5-year period. Considerable investments will also be made in the transportation sector, the sociocultural sector and housing construction. During the 5-year period, work will be carried out on over 350 important projects in the production sphere alone.

The attainment of the aforementioned objectives will require practical measures to increase the effectiveness of the financial, foreign currency, technical and material investment assets. In this context, the work begins at the planning and designing stage. It is therefore essential that this work should be placed on scientific foundations beginning with the enterprises and up to the center. Greater attention must be given to studies concerning the absolute need, profitability and the funds for each and every project. The scientific criteria and the economic and technical indexes of accounting effectiveness must also be laid down as soon as possible. In addition, strict control must be exercised to ensure that these criteria are fully implemented in the construction as well as in the utilization of projects. Prognostic studies for the development of the various branches of the economy, as well as enterprises and cooperatives, are of particular importance. These studies must serve as a starting point in drafting the 5-year plans and for the rational and thrifty utilization of capital investments.

The structure of investments will be further improved during the current 5-year period, increasing the proportion occupied by machinery and equipment and reducing the proportion of construction and assembly work. The fact that about 40 percent of investments in industry and other branches will be used for the expansion. Reconstruction and modernization of existing enterprises will have considerable influence in this. This is a profitable way which saves a considerable amount of construction funds and accelerates the expansion of production capacities on a higher technical and technological base. The planning, construction and finance organs are faced with the task of working carefully and of struggling persistently to attain this objective.

As in all other fields, especially in the field of investments and construction, time-saving is one of the decisive factors in reducing incompleting investments and constructions, ensuring the fulfillment of the planned production tasks, ensuring the fulfillment of the national income plan, the accumulation plan; strengthening the stability of the market and monetary circulation and so forth. The determination of standard schedules for the construction time requires in the various projects and standard limits on the state of investments and incomplete construction must serve as an efficient way to strengthen control in planning and carrying out investments.

More care should be taken with investments carried out by the agricultural cooperatives with their own assets, which are expected to reach a total of 2.75 billion leks during this 5-year period. These investments must be better integrated in the economic development plan and their realization must be followed up carefully by the cooperatives themselves, as well as by the state and economic organs, and no longer should considerable funds be allowed to remain unused.

The further reduction of costs remains a big problem in construction because costs are still high in this sector despite the improvements made. Hence the need arises for designers, technologists and the producers of construction materials, in close cooperation with economists, to design and carry out suitable projects, use standard light constructions, produce a wide range of construction materials of good quality and high resistance, applying the advanced experience of the country and the world.

The Ministry of Construction, other departments and their enterprises have at their disposal a large stock of machinery and they must take care to use this powerful base as rationally as possible. At the present and future pace of construction, it is impossible to go on without a radical change in the mechanization of processes, the industrialization of construction and without a considerable increase in labor productivity in this sector.

To better meet the needs of the economy for the circulation of commodities both within and outside the country as well as the movement of passengers, transportation will be further expanded during the seventh 5-year period. Considering the needs of economic development and the great economic profitability, priority will be given to railroad transportation, which will be developed more rapidly. New lines and sidings will be constructed in the current 5-year period covering 37 percent of the length of the railroad network built to date.

The implementation of these structural changes in the transportation sector requires new organizational forms and a number of other technical measures to intensify the use of railroads, the mechanization of loading and unloading, the rapid movement of commodities in and out of stations and so forth.

Giving priority to railroad transportation does not mean neglecting sea transportation, both internal and external, as a massive and profitable form of transportation. Nor does it mean neglecting the rational and fullest possible use of road transportation, particularly in the economic sector. Great importance will also be attached to the use of trailers, particularly large ones.

The increased utilization of the means of transportation and their maintenance, the achievement of the fulfillment of the plan and all indexes are great duties for the party organizations and for all transportation workers.

4. To Increase Exports and Use Foreign Currency Thriftily

Our foreign trade has constantly developed and expanded. We are now trading with over 50 countries in various parts of the world. We will strive to further extend our trade links in the country's interest and on the basis of mutual profit. We have always directed our economic development on the road of the unchecked strengthening of our political and economic independence, but we have never aimed at and we are not aiming at achieving autarchy. In the same way, we have always opposed and are opposing all pressures to integrate our economy with that of the capitalist and revisionist countries.

Although we have been confronted with serious obstacles and difficulties, by implementing this correct Marxist-Leninist course and considerably increasing our exports, for the first time in the last years of the previous 5-year period our economy managed to balance all essential imports with exports. This balance has been achieved without affecting the pace of our economic development or the living standard of the people. This represents another historic victory by our party and people on the path of comprehensive construction of the socialist society and is a clear reflection of the strength of our country's economy.

Exports are expected to be 58-60 percent higher in 1985 than they were in 1980, while imports are expected to rise 56-58 percent. Our active foreign trade balance will thus be strengthened and the overall fulfillment of the tasks of the 5-year plan will be ensured.

Considerable improvements are being made in the structure of our exports. During the seventh 5-year period, heavy industry will more than double its foreign currency earnings from exports compared with the previous 5-year period. Manufactured articles will constitute 73 percent of all our exports, compared with 70 percent in the previous 5-year period.

The fulfillment of production plans in quantity and quality, the timely delivery of goods to be exported and the struggle to produce as cheaply as possible will be on the agenda. People everywhere must think and work to find new sources for our exports.

During the 5-year period, the party's belief that the majority of our imports, about 93 percent, should be taken up by machinery and some raw and other materials needed to expand domestic production will be applied at a higher level. The further development of production will make it possible to increase the proportion of imported machinery and decrease the proportion of imported raw and other materials.

One of the bigger and more important problems in the field of imports, a problem that requires more profound knowledge, concrete preparatory measures and the cooperation and coordination of the work of all departments, technologists, designers and investing enterprises, as well as the foreign trade sector, is to secure the machinery and equipment needed for the complete projects to be constructed and for the reconstructions and modernizations to be carried out during the 5-year period.

The fulfillment of all tasks in the foreign trade field requires a deeper awareness of the concept that imports and exports must always be viewed in unison, always giving priority to exports. The import of commodities must be carried out according to plan because all irregularities or delays can have not only economic, but also political and social consequences. In the same way, and even more so, it is necessary to work and make every possible effort to fulfill the export plan.

The struggle to domestically save the commodities that we export and raw and other materials that we import assumes particular importance today. Savings must particularly be effected in the use of coal, coke, combustible residues from the distillation of oil (solar) and (mazut), steel, steel sheets, lubricating oils, rubber tires and other materials. Scientifically studied norms must be established in the use of these and other materials and strict control must be exercised. Efforts must be made by all concerned to replace costly raw and other materials with less costly ones and to domestically produce machinery, equipment and commodities that we are currently importing.

The considerable increase in the volume of exports and imports and the fulfillment of the great tasks in this sector require a visible improvement in the activity of the foreign trade organs and the raising of their professional standard and of their agility in orienting themselves in all situations.

5. To Ensure and Gradually Raise the Standard of the People's Well-Being

The construction of our socialist society is a comprehensive revolutionary process. The party has therefore always viewed the development of production in unison with the strengthening of the socialist social order, the fulfillment of the material and cultural needs of the working people and their communist education. The party has always viewed the well-being of all the people in unison with the consolidation of the country's independence and defense potential; the general and collective in unison with the individual, the present in unison with the future and the development of the cities in unison with the progress of the countryside.

In the development of production and all other social activity, the party has kept and continues to keep the working man and the fulfillment of his material and cultural needs at the center of its attention. Although the stipulated tasks were not completely fulfilled during the sixth 5-year period, the purchasing power and real per capita income of the population increased both in the cities and in the countryside, the supply of mass consumer commodities has increased constantly and housing conditions have been further improved. There have been no hikes whatsoever in the prices of foodstuffs and industrial articles, fuel, electricity, rents and in the tariffs of services to the population. The social fund increased 20 percent and every family has benefited by almost 4,000 leks from this fund, on average.

As a result of the development of industry, agriculture and other branches of the economy during the seventh 5-year period, the material well-being and cultural standard of the population will be ensured and improved. Despite the considerable program of investments and expenditures for the development of the economy and the increased accumulation norm from about 30 percent in the sixth 5-year period to 31-33 percent in the seventh 5-year period, the real per capital income of the population will increase 8-10 percent. The rate of increase in the countryside will be about twice that in the cities. The production of mass consumer commodities will rise 33-35 percent and services 46-47 percent. The supply of meat, fish, eggs, vegetables, potatoes and fruit will increase. Improvements are expected to be made in the structure of mass consumer commodities and in the supply of durable commodities in order to make living conditions more comfortable and to ensure a more culture family life.

To attain the objectives in the field of the people's well-being, efforts must be centered, primarily, in the fulfillment of tasks to increase production and to raise its effectiveness in industry, agriculture and all other branches and sectors. Particular attention is to be paid to studying and applying the demands of the laws regulating production and distribution, as well as the circulation of commodities and money in socialism. Labor productivity must rise faster than the per capita income of the population, the national income must rise faster than the purchasing power of the population, and the purchasing power of the population must be covered not only generally with the quantity of goods and services, but also with a suitable structure of these goods and services. The violation of these proportions would also cause irregularities in the money circulation, which cannot be grasped and applied separately from production, the circulation of various commodities and articles and the creation and distribution of incomes.

The working people in the trade sector are confronted with great tasks in better serving the people and in meeting their daily demands and needs. They must drastically improve their work, cooperate more closely with other economic organs, carry out profound studies, organize a cultured trading activity, raise their active role in production and become a barrier against poor quality goods. Particular attention must be paid to the sale of foodstuffs in the countryside, by the state sector and by the cooperatives themselves, in order to provide full support to the revolutionary initiatives and the measures implemented recently to reduce private yards and to herd together the private livestock of cooperative members.

The improvement of housing conditions has been and continues to be one of the most important issues in the party's policy regarding the well-being of the population. About 80 percent of the population now live in houses or apartments built during the years of the people's power. Over 56,000 apartments and houses were built by the state and by the people themselves during the sixth 5-year period. In order to resolve the problems in the field of housing better than they have been to date it is essential to accelerate the rate of housing construction. It is therefore planned to build over 80,000 apartments and dwellings during the 5-year period in progress, which will be sufficient for about 400,000 people. Although they rate among the lowest in the world, rents have not been and will not be increased.

The communal economy organs are faced with considerable tasks in maintaining this asset, which increases annually. But they are confronted with even greater tasks in extending the range of services to the population, in radically improving their quality and costs and particularly in expanding communal and repair services in the countryside. The responsibility and interest of the district executive councils in these and other problems pertaining to the daily life of the people must be increased, since they frequently direct their attention merely to the fulfillment of production plans.

The educational and cultural development of the working people and the protection and improvement of their health have been and continue to remain at the center of attention of the party and of our socialist state. The elevation of the educational and cultural standard of the masses is both a prerequisite and a sound basis for the economic and social progress of the country as a whole, the strengthening of its defense and the constant improvement of the life of the people.

The improvement in the knowledge and cultural standard of the people represents a great potential for the fulfillment of the present and future plans and for taking technical and scientific progress to new heights. Education, culture and science will therefore be further promoted in the new 5-year plan.

The number of pupils in the secondary schools will increase considerably. In addition to encompassing children in the cities, secondary education will be extended to include a growing number of children in the countryside. Vocational secondary schools will be expanded and specialized to better meet the demands of the rapid development of the economy, the creation of new branches and the introduction of new technologies in production. About 160,000 young people will graduate from all categories of secondary schools during the next 5 years, compared with 113,000 who graduated during the previous 5-year period.

Particular attention will be devoted to the development of higher education, in which the number of new students will be 45 percent higher than in the sixth 5-year period. New specialities will be created and postuniversity qualification and specialization will be extended.

In addition to education, new steps will also be taken in the various sectors of culture to enable them to penetrate more deeply among the masses and better serve their education. The publication of political, scientific, technical and literary books will be expanded. Their overall circulation will be about 1 million more than in the previous 5-year period. Cinematography will be further developed. The radio-TV network will be extended by increasing the number of relay and rebroadcasting stations in order to cover all areas of the country. Color TV broadcasting will commence during the seventh 5-year period. New museums will be set up in the cities and in villages for the revolutionary and patriotic education of the working people, and the existing ones will be further enriched. The National Historical Museum in Tirana, the Scanderbeg Museum in Kruje, the Museum of Popular Material Culture in Shkoder and others like these are of great importance in this field.

More funds have been allocated in the current 5-year period for the development of physical culture and sports. Sport grounds will be extended and new sport palaces and stadiums will be built. These will serve the physical training and entertainment of the youth to prepare them better for work and defense. Sportsmen and sportswomen must respond to this request by the party by striving for increasingly better results.

A real revolution has taken place during the years of the people's power in protecting the health of the people. The network of medical institutions of all kinds has been extended considerably, the medical service has been constantly improved and all other measures to protect and strengthen the health of the people have been expanded. The same successful road will be followed in the years to come. Comprehensive prophylactic measures will be extended and improved in the cities and particularly in the countryside. Particular attention will be devoted to the improvement of the medical service, to the raising of the quality of curative medicine and medical assistance and to the strengthening of the measures that have been adopted to protect the health of mothers and children in order to further reduce the mortality of children under 1 year of age. The recently announced decision to extend maternity leave to nearly 6 months will also help in this direction.

Our country has a dynamic population growth, a population structure in which younger age groups predominate and a population that is always active and fresh. The party has worked and continues to work to ensure that demographic processes are studied and guided on a more scientific basis and to ensure that the population continues to grow at a suitable rate.

Not only is there no unemployment and economic emigration in our country, but the dynamic development of production forces and of the social and cultural activity require an increasingly new and active workforce.

All new forces, numbering about 210,000, will find employment during the seventh 5-year period, primarily in the production sector. The employment of new forces will require profound studies by the state planning commission, the state committee for wages and employment, other departments, the district people's council executive committees and the enterprises and agricultural cooperatives themselves.

Naturally, the party and the state will strive to create new employment opportunities where the people live, but this depends to a large extent also on the distribution of natural resources and wealth. A proportion of the new workforce will therefore have to work where the country needs them and where new work is created. This process must be better based on the development of transportation, urban planning, the improvement of working conditions and the regulation of the pay system in order to stimulate people to seek work in the remoter areas or where working conditions are more difficult.

6. Let Us Improve the Management of the Economy and Raise Its Effectiveness

Management and organization are one of the most important factors to which we must pay great attention in order to further promote progress in the economy, education, science, culture and all other fields of social activity.

In the present conditions, when the economy has become a large-scale and complex economy, it cannot be managed and furthered with outdated concepts and practices. It is no longer possible to work on the basis of narrow empiricism and practicalism. Management and organization must rest on profound knowledge and sound scientific criteria arising from the laws of economic and social development.

The management of the economy on the basis of these laws requires that the problems of the development of production forces should always be considered in close connection with their social aspects and all the components making up our socialist life. This is related with the planned and well-organized practical application of that mutual interaction between production forces, on the one hand, and economic relations and the superstructure, on the other. We frequently recognize this interaction, but in practice we often forget it or give it only slight consideration. These harmful manifestations must be eliminated and opposed because they contain the danger of a style of management from positions of economism and technocratism.

As a single socialist economy, the national economy is managed on the principle of democratic centralism and of the general state plan. If this principle is violated, no matter how slightly, proceeding from particular and narrow interests, this shows that the party's directives, the economic laws and the regulations of our state are not being properly understood and correctly implemented. Manifestations of departmentalism and of closed work within districts or institutions must therefore be opposed. Collaboration and the coordination of the work pertaining to various problems on the basis of the party's policy and in order to find rapid solutions to problems in accordance with everyone's duties must be strengthened.

What is of primary importance is that, led by the party's line, policy and ideology, everyone should show initiative and persistence and bear full responsibility for the functions carried out and for the performance of the sector where he works and carries out his administrative duties. Account-rendering for the functions and duties for which one is responsible, as well as for the fulfillment of the planned tasks, in a norm arising from our social system and from the principle of democratic centralism. This norm must be implemented without concessions at all levels, without permitting any kind of liberalism or petty bourgeois sentimentalism.

The party has constantly stressed that socialism is the deed of the broad working masses led by the party. Hence the fundamental objective that the working masses should take a lively part in the administration of the country's affairs, that they should master the art of managing the economy. This principled question must be implanted deeply in everyone's minds and consciousness. The workers must have their say everywhere, they must speak and judge as they themselves see fit; they must criticize shortcomings and all those who violate state discipline and regulations to ensure that everything goes as it should.

The drafting of real plans capable of mobilizing the masses and based on all-round studies pertaining to current and future problems, as well as on deep generalizations and analysis, is of particular importance for the scientific organization and management of the economy. More careful work should also be done in the course of implementing plans, resolving problems correctly and rapidly. It is true that the plan is law and its implementation a state duty, but this must not prevent the adoption of measures to make eventual changes in order to improve its indexes whenever this may prove to be necessary and possible.

More attention must be paid to control over the implementation of plans. This must be a lively, operational and daily control, capable not only of pointing out weaknesses or shortcomings, but also capable of providing solutions on the spot. Internal economic, financial and technical control within the enterprises themselves or agricultural cooperatives must be particularly strengthened. The finance and banking organs must place financial control where it rightly belongs and play a more active role in production, circulation and services, by a more correct and effective use of all other instruments of our economic mechanism.

The strengthening of management and organization also requires that improvements be made in the existing structure of the state organs and in the various organisms of the economy as often as necessary. We must change the outdated forms and methods of management in the same way that we make efforts to increase production and improve its technology, introducing new and more effective, more lively and less costly structures and forms.

Management and organizational work must be reflected in increased production and increased cost effectiveness in all fields of economic activity. The national income will grow more rapidly than social production during the current 5-year period; its increase will be secured to the extent of 46 percent as a result of increased labor productivity; labor productivity in industry and construction is to increase 2 or 3 times more rapidly than in the previous 5-year period; the increased net income of enterprises will be achieved mainly through reduction in production, construction and service costs.

The correct and proportional development of the entire economy and the fulfillment of all planned tasks relying on our own forces and in accordance with the stipulated rates depend on the attainment of these objectives. The way to achieve this must be sought in production, in the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution, the extension of mechanization, the strengthening of discipline, the full utilization of work schedules, cost reductions and the rational use of the material and technical base, that is, in the discovery and utilization of all the internal reserves of the economy, relying powerfully on the advanced experience and on the achievements of science and technology.

The work of people, with a high standard of quality and a high degree of productivity, is the decisive factor in ensuring the increased effectiveness of production and the progress of the economy as a whole. This requires that the qualifications of the working people be raised, that their initiative and creativity be developed and that they be made conscious of the importance and the possibility of fulfilling the planned tasks.

Another great problem which is directly connected with management, the organization of the economy and its increased effectiveness concerns the extension and consolidation of cooperation in all fields of socioeconomic activity. This is dictated by the deepening of the social division of labor and economic links. Production has been enriched with numerous branches and activities, and the production forces have been distributed throughout the country. The specialization of production activities has been deepened and science and technology have made progress. In these conditions, the lack of cooperation in resolving various problems not only prevents the full utilization of the superiorities of the socialist economy as a single economy, it also prevents its development at a rapid pace.

A more profound and fuller understanding of the principle of self-reliance in the economy and in all other fields is required in this context. In its relations with the outside world, our country implements this principle like one single body, all together, all branches and sectors of the economy ensure and must ensure without fail the country's independence and its unchecked development. Self-reliance on the internal plane, that is, in the economic branches, the districts, the enterprises and cooperatives, must be understood as a shoulder-to-shoulder battle, a battle waged with a strong sense of solidarity, in close cooperation and collaboration with each other to fulfill the tasks of the single and general state plan.

The road traversed and being traversed by our economy is a correct Marxist-Leninist road. Its stability, vitality and dynamism are a clear testimony of this. The fundamental traits of our socialist economy must be consolidated and furthered as a result of the struggle and efforts of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, under the party's leadership, to attain the objectives of the Seventh 5-Year Plan that we are approving in this congress.

II. Let Us Constantly Strengthen the Party and Further Improve the Effectiveness of Its Work

Firmly loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, a resolute fighter against the external and internal enemies and deeply-rooted in the people who gave it birth and raised it, our AWP has led the Albanian people wisely and farsightedly from victory to victory at every stage of the revolution and of the country's socialist construction.

The party has also honorably fulfilled the great, difficult and complex tasks set out by the Seventh AWP Congress. The work and struggle for the implementation of these tasks has further strengthened and steeled the party itself, has heightened its leadership role and militant spirit, has revolutionized the life and activity of the basis organizations and of the party forums and has tempered the steel-like unity of the party's own ranks and its close links with the broad masses of the people.

The general mobilization of all communists and of all the people in fulfilling the tasks set out by the party, in the past and present, the great revolutionary actions and movements and the magnificent popular solidarity of our people are a clear reflection of this monolithic unity of the party and of the people around it. This unity has been and remains the decisive and key factor in all our victories in the socialist construction and in the country's defense.

The strengthening of the party and its leadership role has been served by the constant struggle that it has waged to further revolutionize its ranks through the work to raise the ideological, cultural and political level of the communists, through the elevation of their activity as political and social militants and through the consolidation of its proletarian constitution. An entire army of communists is militating in its ranks. They have shown firm loyalty to the party's correct line in all the situations we have faced. The Albanian communists, as always, have fought and worked with courage and revolutionary optimism and have shown themselves to be able organizers, educators and leaders of the masses.

The deepening of the struggle against manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy in the life of the party organs and basic organizations; the elimination of the consequences of the hostile activity in some sectors of the economy, in art, culture and the army, which was intended to shift the party's leading role; and the respect for and implementation of the party's norms everywhere, have further raised its militant spirit and have made the party more mature, more capable and more determined in implementing the new and great tasks confronting us on the road of the country's socialist construction.

1. Let Us Further Raise and Perfect the Party's Leadership Role

Our party's 40 years of experience proves that only a party that rests firmly on the Marxist-Leninist science can become a genuine leader of the working class, achieve the hegemony of this class and ensure the victory of the revolution and the construction of the socialist society. Our party has been and will always remain in the vanguard of the struggle and efforts of the masses. The party leads everywhere: In politics and ideology, in the state power and in the economy, in education, culture and science, in the army and in all other sectors. No problem, be it simple or complicated, current or future, can be resolved without the party's leadership. This has been and remains a law to us. The source of all victories in socialist construction and the firmest guarantee for the brilliant future that we are building lies in the single and indivisible leadership of the party.

The party is not placed in the leadership and cannot remain there casually. The party ensures its leadership role through its correct line and through its persistent struggle and effort for the practical implementation of this line. Relying on the theory of the most progressive class in society, the proletariat, relying on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and on the laws of the materialistic development of society, the party has a broad vision and a well-developed and scientific mind. The party sees clearly in all situations, it understands the present, foresees the future and knows how to keep abreast of its work by constantly determining and implementing a revolutionary strategy and tactics which correspond with the interests of the working class and of the working masses.

The party carries out its leadership role everywhere and in all things through its basic organizations and the communists. The better the party's ideology and its policy is mastered generally, particularly every decision and directive, by every organization and by every communist, the more the party and its links with the masses is strengthened, the higher its leadership role is raised at every level of socialist construction. This constitutes a decisive prerequisite for the fulfillment of the great tasks posed at the present stage of the country's development and in the concrete situations in which we are constructing socialism. With the party in the lead, strong like steel, vigilant and unblinking, the cause of the revolution and socialism is invincible.

The formation of a clearer and fuller concept of the achievement of the leadership role of the party at all levels and in all fields is of particular importance. In practice, some party committees, bureaus and basic organizations understand this question too narrowly. Some believe, mistakenly, that "the party is composed solely of its leading apparatuses and organs" and not of the great organized mass of all communists. Others do not fully understand and achieve the party's leadership role in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, under the slogan that "the party leads everything," engage the party organizations, committees and their leaders in the concrete solution of small questions of production, administration, technology and so forth. It appears that some people do not properly understand and realize that party questions are questions pertaining to all communists, wherever they may work, that the party leads the state and economic organs and the mass organizations en bloc, in an organized and centralized manner and through all its instruments.

This is the reason why, in the treatment and resolution of various problems, some party organs and organizations pay more attention to the technical and administrative side of things and neglect the political and ideological aspects, the problems pertaining to the party's economic, cultural and military policy and the direct work to be done with people, which is also their main task. Ideas and actions of this kind lead to the monopolization of the work, restrict the initiative of the cadres and of the masses, double up or shift the party's instruments and weaken the leadership role of the party itself.

Our party has always correctly conceived and carried out its role in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is therefore of great importance to understand and increasingly better apply the principle that the party's work is not limited to the work of the party organs and basic organizations, let alone their apparatuses.

Party work is also carried out by the state and economic organs, the military commands and staffs in the army, the mass organizations and all the cadres and working people, regardless of whether they are party members or not because they are all led by the party's ideology and line, because they are all implementing the state laws and regulations and its plans in which this line is embodied.

This in no way reduces or weakens the full responsibility of the party organizations and their leadership role in all problems. But they cannot do all the work by themselves. The party organizations therefore delegate tasks to their instruments, mobilize them, open up new vistas to them and lead them in their work, control them and demand to be given accounts for the precise implementation of these tasks. Through the communists who operate in them, the party forums and basic organizations work to make these instruments conscious and to set them in motion, ensuring that the functions, tasks and responsibilities that have thus been delegated are carried out in a revolutionary way and with initiative.

These questions must be properly understood not only by the party organizations, but also by their instruments and by all cadres. The party has set forth tasks, rights and responsibilities to everyone. The party orients and controls them all, it demands accounts from all. But everyone must be responsible for carrying out his own work, everyone must work persistently and with initiative and, in accordance with the rights and duties assigned to everyone within the party's line, they must bear full responsibility for the tasks entrusted to them in the sector that they lead. From this viewpoint, some tendencies observed in practice, when some state and economic organs ask questions about everything and seek permission from the party forums and organizations, supposedly in the name of ensuring the party's leadership in all things, thus establishing a partnership with these organizations and forums -- these tendencies are not correct. This is not ensuring the leadership role of the party, but rather a tendency to share responsibility with the party organization.

The state and economic organs, the mass organizations and their cadres are not apolitical, they do not merely confront technical, agrotechnical, military and other such questions. They, too, work and struggle relying on the party's line and its implementation. Naturally, the party organization is responsible when it allows some managers and administrators to fail to fulfill their tasks. The party organization must help them, direct, educate and correct them; it must place them before their responsibility and, when the occasion arises, it must take measures against all those seeking to act according to their own wishes, even when they do so in the shadow of the basic organization or in the name of a communist. This reduces the danger of committing mistakes and raises the cadre concerned and his sense of responsibility for his work.

The party organizations do confront and will continue to confront all questions: The problems of the economy, culture, defense and all other problems in the country. Otherwise they cannot remain at the head and lead. Their capacity lies in that they know how to deal with major questions at any given moment, they know how to provide correct, justified and argued solutions; they are capable of seeing how the party's line and policies are understood and implemented by the communists, the cadres, the state and economic organs and the mass organizations; they know how to demand accounts when they fail to carry out their tasks. The party organization bears direct responsibility for all this and must center its attention on these questions instead of dealing with small and concrete problems, for which purpose the party has created special organs and organisms.

The party's work consists primarily of work with people, work for their education, clarification, mobilization and organization. This must never be forgotten; otherwise the party will remove itself from its major leading duty and function, transforming itself into an operative organism and assuming state functions. This is a great danger for a party in power. We pointed out this danger long ago in order to prevent its appearance.

The invincible force of our revolution and of our socialist social system lies in the masses on the people, in their high political consciousness and in their readiness and determination to build and defend socialism. This is a glorious deed of the party and it must consolidate and promote it constantly through its ideological, political and organizational work.

This requires that the party organizations and all communists merge with the masses and work constantly and tirelessly among them, that they be well acquainted with the moral-political state of the masses, that they at all times be aware of the problems concerning the masses, that they always be in a position to explain situations to the masses and that they clearly explain to them the party's directives and the laws of the state. They are required to educate the masses in the communist morality and world outlook, to combat all alien vestiges and manifestations, to care for the life of the masses, to stimulate and support the creativity and initiative of the masses, to mobilize them and lead them in actions to strengthen the country's economy, culture and defense.

2. To Raise the Effectiveness of the Party's Work in the Sense of Responsibility of the Party Organs and Organizations

The current stage of the country's rapid and all-round development and the great and bold tasks confronting us and requiring solutions require that the level and effectiveness of the party's work at every level and in all directions be raised to a higher degree. The party's work is broad and comprehensive: It is political, ideological, organizational, administrative, economic and psychological; it is harmonized and synthesized and must be carried out as such. Its effectiveness is measured in concrete results in the fulfillment of tasks in every sector of social activity.

In practice, there are occasions when the party's work is conceived narrowly. Some party organs and basic organizations forget the perspective, remain on the surface of problems and rely merely on practical knowledge, without confronting themselves with advanced experience and thinking and with the changes that have occurred in the country and the people. These manifestations are, in the majority of cases, the cause for the nonfulfillment of economic plans or of the weaknesses observed in the work of some enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and in some districts.

What is now required is cultivated, knowledgeable, competent and scientific work. We often repeat that we are compelled to tread on untrodden ground and that we are compelled to seek and create. But this cannot be achieved without a profound knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist theory and without scientific studies and generalizations of the revolutionary practice of communists and of the working masses. The problems of production, organization, education, culture, science and the country's defense cannot be solved correctly and successfully today without serious studies. Such studies must also be carried out with regard to the party's own leading, administrative and educational work. Studies and generalizations broaden the horizon and open up clear new vistas to the party organizations, the communists and the working masses; they help to combat manifestations of routine work, formalism and shallowness, as well as to create sound convictions and to correctly determine the measures and the ways needed to carry out current and future tasks.

The party's work is not merely agitation and propaganda work to clarify and persuade people, it is also organizational and mobilizing work to ensure the implementation of the party line and directives. The party's work leads, educates and mobilizes the communists and the working masses for revolutionary actions, stimulating them to think, work and struggle like revolutionaries.

The party has opposed manifestations of unilateralism in the work of some organs and basic organizations which give a higher priority to meetings, reports and numerous and prolonged discussions than to concrete measures to clear definition of tasks and concrete measure for their implementation.

This explains why in some cases, despite the numerous meetings held to analyze the state of affairs in this or that sector, the problems remain unsolved and the situation does not change.

Experience has shown that problems are resolved and tasks are fulfilled not only by appealing to the consciousness of the communists and of the workers, but also by accompanying the implementation of tasks and the work of persuading people with comprehensive measures, concrete organization and leadership, control and the demanding of accounts. Ideopolitical and technical-organizational measures constitute one single dialectical unity; they educate, mobilize and lead people in revolutionary actions.

The perfecting of the vanguard role of communists has always been a major task of the party organs and organizations and will remain so in the future. It is the duty of communists, particularly in the current circumstances, to raise their own sense of responsibility in keeping high the name of communist, to oppose all alien manifestations in themselves as well as in others and to be progressive people in all directions. Communists must distinguish themselves by their revolutionary determination and their active participation in the daily struggle for the construction of socialism and the country's defense; they must always be in the most difficult and important frontline of work and struggle, talented organizers and leaders acting responsibly for the implementation of the party line.

The masses implement the decisions of the party organizations and follow the communists when the latter do not separate deeds from words, when they think, work and make sacrifices in the interests of the working people, socialism and the homeland. To be a communist and a revolutionary means to assume and carry out great tasks, not to remain idle, it means not to remain satisfied with a normal pace, it means to struggle for rapid development on all fronts, to always take the side of what is new and to defend it.

The party's work provides results when the party organizations and all communists broadly develop initiative and a creative and innovative spirit. There are numerous examples and positive instances of this in all directions. However, it is also necessary in some party organizations and among certain cadres and communists in enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and various central departments and institutions to oppose manifestations of a wait-and-see attitude, prevarications, hesitation and a lack of initiative in finding solutions to problems within their own field of activity.

Methods of work, management and organization are not given once and for all time and are not inviolable. Life progresses, our socialist society is constantly developing and conditions do change. This development requires that we should be creators and innovators, that we should find new, more flexible and more varied forms of work and that we should constantly rejuvenate and enrich them in order that they may better correspond with the demands of the time.

A more qualified and effective effort is required in working out party directives. This is a fundamental task of the basic organizations and all communists. The party directives reflect its line and define the tasks confronting the communists and the masses in resolving various problems. Good experience has been accumulated in working out party directives. However, manifestations of formalism and stereotypism, which may still be observed in some party organs and organizations, must be opposed more forcefully. There are cases when party directives and decisions fail to reach the base, the people, with the degree of seriousness and force intended by the AWP Central Committee or the district committees. They are transmitted below mechanically, without taking into account the specific conditions in which the party organization is operating, the situation or the tasks that it has to resolve.

Working out party directives means to explain its need and importance from a political, ideological and economic viewpoint; it means defining tasks confronting the party organizations, mass organizations, the state, economic and cultural organs and so forth, in accordance with the concrete conditions in every district; zone sector or collective; it means defining ways and means and the necessary measures to fulfill these tasks.

Leading the masses into revolutionary actions for the complete and creative implementation of directives is of decisive importance. It is here, in the fire of this struggle, that the correctness of the party directives is tested and where the necessary corrections and complements are made. In this action and through it the communists and the masses strengthen their own convictions about the correctness of the party directives, educate and temper themselves, manifest their revolutionary initiatives, realize the unity of words and deeds and achieve a rapid pace of work in carrying out all tasks rapidly and with high quality. Actions also serve to combat bureaucratic and technocratic methods, prevarications, complacency and comfort-seeking and serve to make life, work and people more lively.

3. Let Us Correctly Implement the Criteria Laid Down To Increase the Party's Ranks

The party has always resolutely implemented, in a revolutionary manner, correct criteria to increase its ranks. These have strengthened the party and made it healthier, and have raised the effectiveness of its work.

The party comes to this congress with increased membership, with new and resolute fighters for the cause of the people, the revolution and communism, real proletarians in thought and action. The party now numbers 122,600 militant members, of which about 38 percent are workers, 29.4 percent are cooperativists and 32.6 percent are office employees. Women represent 30 percent of the membership, an increase of 2.5 percent over the previous congress. Communists represent 4.5 percent of the population. In the years following the Seventh AWP Congress, 24,383 people have joined the party as candidate members, of which 42.40 percent are workers, 40.43 percent cooperativists and 17.17 percent office workers. Women comrades account for 40.70 percent of them.

The overwhelming majority of new members and candidate members have come from production, particularly the major fronts of production. They are among the best, the more politically and ideologically mature, have high moral qualities and virtues, a high educational standard and are vanguard fighters and active participants in the construction of socialism.

On the basis of its experience and in view of the situation, the AWP Central Committee believes that it is proper that approximately the same pace and criteria be used in future to increase the party's ranks, as have been applied during the past 5 years:

Priority is to be given to activists from the ranks of the working class, particularly those working in the major production branches, heavy industry, the extractive and processing industry and the large construction projects.

Greater efforts are to be made to accelerate the aim set out by the Seventh AWP Congress that communists from the cooperative sector should in future take second place, after workers, in the party's ranks.

To select from the office workers and intelligentsia those who have a high ideopolitical, cultural, technical and scientific standard, and who are working in the most important sectors of socialist construction and defense.

To pay more attention to the work of increasing the party's ranks with women.

The implementation of these orientations requires that the party organs and basic organizations should carry out a more qualified and better considered effort to increase the party's ranks. Formal and bureaucratic manifestations, as well as any inclination to be in order merely with regard to numbers and percentages must be opposed. The quality of new members has always been and continues to remain of decisive importance in the party's policy in this respect. The candidates must be politically and ideologically elevated, as well as capable. They must be progressive in their thinking and action, they must have a broad cultural, educational and professional horizon, enjoy the trust and respect of the masses, be people with initiative and be consistent revolutionaries.

No one should become a member merely because he is the son or daughter of a worker, cooperativist or communist or because of the merits of his parent or parents, but only because of his personal merits, for his personal qualities and capabilities. These qualities and virtues must be further tempered by the basic party organization and by every individual communist in daily struggle and activity.

The probation stage plays an important role in the communist training of new members. The experience gained in this field must serve to elevate the role and responsibility of the basic organizations for the continuous ideopolitical education of the candidates and their revolutionary tempering. Manifestations observed in some cases, when the probationary stage is underrated and the established regulations are not strictly respected, must be opposed.

4. Let Us Improve the Party's Work With Cadres

In the 40 years of its activity, the party has always devoted particular attention to work with cadres and has pursued a correct and clear-sighted policy in this matter of vital importance. During all these years, the party has trained an entire army of cadres in all specialities and in all fields and sectors of life, who are distinguished for their lofty qualities and moral virtues, their political and ideological maturity, their loyalty and devotion to the cause of the people and socialism and their abilities and capabilities in carrying out their tasks.

As in all other fields of life, the party has its policy concerning work with cadres and has defined clear Marxist-Leninist orientations, criteria and norms. Cadre policy is the party's monopoly. It is worked out by the AWP Central Committee and is implemented everywhere under the party's leadership. This is a principled question which must be correctly understood by all. However, in connection with this problem, the AWP Central Committee has criticized certain narrow concepts and has corrected certain mistaken practices observed in work with cadres. The party's monopoly in the matter of cadre policy does not mean that problems concerning cadres should be dealt with solely by the party committees. Confusion in these matters cannot fail to lead, as indeed it has led, to a great concentration of the work with cadres in the party organs and organizations. The party gives the directions, defines the criteria and establishes the norms for the training, education, selection and establishment of cadres; but all this is implemented not solely and directly by the party committees, but also by its instruments, by the state, economic and army organs and by the organs of the mass organizations. In the work with cadres, too, the party has determined the rights and duties and has defined their tasks, which must be implemented responsibly, precisely and in a party spirit. This in no way reduces the role and responsibility of the party organs and organizations; on the contrary, it strengthens them. The party leads and controls the implementation of its policy on the work with cadres in the same way that it leads and controls life in every sector.

The party must show great care and concern in correctly using cadres, in better utilizing their intellectual and creative abilities and in placing them fully in the service of production, education and defense. The cadres and various specialists must be given tasks and accorded functions coinciding with their speciality and experience, always taking into consideration their moral-political qualities and professional abilities. Particularly in the higher schools and in the research, scientific, designing and creative institutions, it is necessary to place specialists selected from among the best, the most talented, the ablest and the more tested, to the necessary extent and without weakening work at the base and in production.

The demands of the times must be taken into consideration in promoting cadres. Able cadres, capable of carrying out the job and of directing competently, must be promoted to all functions, to the elected organs as well as to appointed positions. Otherwise, the way is opened up to bureaucracy, routine and mediocrity. Those specialists promoted to responsible positions and functions in the party, the state, the economy and other sectors must also remain creative at all times and must not be transformed into mere administrators, in the narrow meaning of the word.

The party has carried out a special effort in promoting cadres from the ranks of people working directly in production as well as from the ranks of women. People working in production take primary place in the elected party and state organs and in the organs of mass organizations. Of the appointed cadres, those of working class origin account for 33 percent. Among cadres with higher and secondary education, 44 percent are women and young girls. In order to ensure the correct implementation of the Seventh AWP Congress orientations, the AWP Central Committee has drawn the attention of party organs and organizations to the fact that, in addition to the struggle against conservatism, sectarianism and technocratism, they should also struggle against the formal implementation of these orientations by mechanically respecting certain proportions, given as a general orientation, to the detriment of quality. We will continue to promote workers and women also in the future, because this is a correct orientation; however, we will promote them not merely as such, but because they deserve to be promoted. We now have hundreds and thousands of capable and experienced people from the ranks of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and women, who meet all the conditions to be promoted and to undertake more difficult tasks. In the course of their work and with the assistance of their more experienced comrades, they will grow and become qualified cadres.

We have this great mass of learned people at our disposal. We must reject any idea that we lack cadres as being groundless, and we must not tolerate that those who are lacking in ability should remain in jobs that they are unable to do. Nor must we concentrate on a few people alone and promote movements without any sound criteria, as happens in some cases. The party will continue in future, as it has done up to now, to advance boldly in promoting young cadres. In the total number of cadres, 38 percent are up to 30 years old; about 34 percent are between 31 and 40 years old and 28 percent are over 40 years of age. This shows that the promotion and regeneration of cadres is progressing normally. However, it is necessary to combat some apparent manifestations of conservatorism which prevent the promotion of young cadres to responsible positions. More trust should be given to the young cadres, whether elected or appointed, and they will surely raise the work and deeds of the party to a higher level. Trust in young people must also be accompanied by assistance to them; but they themselves, too, must increase their efforts, work, learn and create. The party and people rejoice when they see how these young people, educated by the party, are leading and working ably in various sectors of the country's life.

The party works to ensure that the active life of cadres is as prolonged as possible. However, man's life has its own laws. Some cadres are ready to be pensioned, others are no longer able to cope physically and there are others, again, who, because of their own faults, have failed to keep pace with the demands of the times. It is therefore absolutely essential that all cadres should work seriously, with passion and a sense of responsibility to train their own deputies, for the party to use when and where required.

The training and tempering of cadres as consistent revolutionaries is a primary task of the party's work with cadres. Our party has always kept this at the center of its attention. The party has carried out a comprehensive educational activity and has adopted measures to always place cadres in a position enabling them to militate at all times for the party's life and to be loyal servants of the people. This has been one of the guarantees ensuring that the cause of the revolution and socialism has always progressed in Albania.

In order to continue to progress surely on this correct road in the future, too, the cadres must arm themselves constantly with the party's ideology, implement its line and the state laws, participate actively in the class struggle and maintain close links with the masses. Only in this way can manifestations of bureaucracy, liberalism, intellectualism and technocratism be successfully opposed, and the world outlook and communist character of the cadres be strengthened.

Our country needs capable cadres with a broad cultural horizon, with profound scientific knowledge. It needs cadres capable of making effective use of advanced thinking and scientific achievements, who know the laws of economic development, who know how to plan with precision and to implement correctly. It needs cadres who know how to reckon. It is everyone's duty, of those who are elected as well as those who are appointed, to raise themselves to the needs of the times and the functions entrusted to them.

To achieve this, we will have to further improve our work for the training, qualification and specialization of cadres, and place this work on more scientific foundations. This training must take place scientifically and must be strictly planned in accordance with current and future needs. Our schools are confronted with great tasks in this matter; however, it is also necessary to take into consideration the fact that qualification and specialization do not take place only in schools, but also at work and in life. People must learn to reckon things in their daily practice, they must be methodical and persistent at work and they must be capable producers and imaginative creators.

5. Let Us Further Strengthen the System of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Following the Seventh AWP Congress and the promulgation of the new constitution and of the other codes and laws deriving from it, the administration, organization and activity of the entire system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the party itself, of the state, the armed forces, the mass organizations and so forth, has been further strengthened.

The party has always treated work with its instruments as an absolute necessity to achieve its aim and program. The greater and more important the tasks carried out by the party, the more its solicitude and work with the state organs and mass organizations grows. However, despite the successes attained, there is among some party organizations and committees, as well as among some individual communists, a lack of a complete and precise understanding of the party's role in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Some party organs and organizations fail to provide at all times a concrete and qualified leadership of state organs and mass organizations. There exists a parallelism, a shifting and replacement of roles. There are communists who do not militate actively in the mass organizations, and there are also manifestations of formalism in work with the masses. These are shortcomings that weaken the force and effectiveness of the party's work.

It is known that the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat includes an entire complex of organs and organizations with varied functions, rights and responsibilities, which are based on the foundation of democratic centralism and function under the party's leadership. The problem lies in that this entire system must be constantly strengthened and must operate in a synchronized manner, each individual carrying out the tasks entrusted to him with precision and, all together, implementing the party's aim and program.

The party leads this organized system throughout the pyramid, from the base to the center, through its policy and ideology and through the activity of the party organs and organizations and of every communist. The party members and its cadres, elected or appointed to various party functions or to other functions in the state, the army, the economy, the mass organizations and so forth, understand the responsibilities entrusted to them as a division of labor carried out by the party among its members and cadres.

All party instruments, although they possess their own leading organs, are guided by the party not only in a general way, but also by every party organ and organization. The weakening of the party's leading role at all levels, no matter how slightly, would have evil consequences. This is precisely what the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists are striving to achieve; in their aim to undermine the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they are trying to detach the various instruments from the party's leadership and to transform them into independent organizations, to place them on an equal level with and against the party.

The party's leadership in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat in no way limits or truncates the activity of the state organs or of the mass organizations. On the contrary, the party is working and struggling to further increase their role and responsibility, to develop their initiative, to strengthen them politically and organizationally, and to make them capable of fulfilling their task as well as possible. For this reason, the party has criticized and does criticize as being both alien and harmful those practices when some party organ or organization tries to establish a bureaucratic tutelage over the party's instruments, to dictate and impose everything on them and to restrict and extinguish their initiative.

Being the leading force in the state and society, the party's task is to coordinate the work of all state organs and mass organizations. The latter, too, in addition to carrying out their own functions and tasks, must strengthen their collaboration with each other as an essential prerequisite for the success of their activity. Naturally, every organ and organization has its own speciality and specific work, but these characteristics must not be made absolute, because they all work and struggle for the same aim. In cooperating with each other, they must not double or replace each other, nor must they be placed in a position of dependency on each other, because they are all led by the party and each one of them works and struggles in its line for the implementation of the tasks set out by the party.

The party shows particular solicitude for the constant strengthening of the state organs and administration, from the base to the center. The people's state power is the greatest victory achieved by and the most powerful arm of the working class and working masses in the construction of socialism and the country's defense. That is why we are protecting this state power like the apple of our eyes, and are constantly strengthening it in struggle against the dangers threatening it, against liberalism and bureaucracy.

The party's solicitude in strengthening and raising the role of the state organs, and particularly of the people's councils, has been and must continue to be constant. The party has opposed all manifestations of formalism in the activity of the councils, and has demanded that their duties and rights should be strictly implemented; these rights and duties must never be allowed to be taken away from them by the executive organs. Stringent respect for the norms of the constitution, for the state power organs and their relationship with the order-issuing executive organs, is related to the matter of preserving the democratic nature of our state power, whose roots are in the people and which belongs to the people.

The state power organs in our country carry out their activity in close connection with the working masses. It is in these close links with the people that the unbreakable force of our people's state power lies. We must therefore constantly preserve, strengthen and perfect these links. Consistently following this road, as always, the role of the masses themselves will grow, their participation in the affairs of the state will be extended, and so will our socialist democracy, without which it is impossible to conceive and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The entire activity of our state is based on the constitution and on the laws deriving from it, which reflect in a synthesized form the substance of the party's line and policy. The party has never allowed and will never allow manifestations of arbitrariness or violation of the laws to the detriment of the interests of society or of individual citizens. It has therefore constantly insisted that the laws of the state be properly understood and strictly implemented by all state organs and their officials. These laws must be made increasingly better known by the working masses through a broad propaganda work, that they may thus know how to perform their duties, defend their rights and oppose all distortions of the law, no matter where they may come from. Knowledge and the implementation of the laws is a decisive prerequisite to ensure that the activity of the state organs and the masses of the people be carried out correctly and successfully. This helps to strengthen discipline, order and the socialist consciousness, and to bar the way to many evils.

The party works to ensure that the elected organs of state power, from the people's councils of villages and districts and up to the people's assembly, together with the various commissions and executive organs attached to them, should follow up their duties along the entire front and exercise their rights in all fields of life: Political, economic, sociocultural, educational, scientific and so forth. The party works to eliminate manifestations of unilateralism which are observed among some state power organs in the districts, which concern themselves mainly with economic problems and show little interest in other fields of state activity. The party has also criticized the practice of some people's councils of joined villages, which, proceeding from the fact that the boards of agricultural cooperatives tackle the problems of management and development of the economy, have failed to concern themselves with these questions and to demand accounts for the fulfillment of the state plan in the economy.

The great tasks confronting us require that the methods and style of all state organs and their organization and management of work be further perfected. This perfecting must not be conceived in a mere bureaucratic manner, as if this can be achieved simply by increasing personnel. On the contrary, the organization and management of work are improved and perfected in the struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy, particularly with regard to outdated concepts, methods and forms which in many cases no longer correspond to the stage of development and the complexity of problems confronting the country.

In the state power and state administrative organs, both at the center and at the base, the party organizations, cadres and all others working in them must wage a persistent struggle against all manifestations of a lack of responsibility, prevarication, lack of concern for small daily problems, lack of initiative, servilism, conformism or haughtiness, narrow sectorial or local attitudes, artisan-like concepts and practices and so forth. For this struggle to be successful, education must have a role, but organization, discipline and strict control are also required.

During the period spanning two congresses, the AWP Central Committee and the Defense Council have adopted important measures to further strengthen the country's defense potential. The party, the state and the military cadres, both active and reservists, have carried out a great effort in the army and have struggled successfully to eliminate the consequences of the hostile activity of Beqir Balluku and company. This has raised the organization, training, education and combat-readiness of our armed forces to a higher degree.

In the question of the country's defense, our party has never relied on outside aid or various international conjunctures, but mainly on the internal factor, on the strength, patriotism and valor of our people, as well as on the general training and constant combat-readiness of the entire country. The party's directive that "the country's defense is a duty above all other duties," is increasingly becoming a great reality in our country. The country's increased defense potential depends largely on a complete and correct understanding of this directive and on a concrete effort for its implementation.

The party demands that in the future, too, the people's army and all its structure, as the major force for the country's defense, should be constantly strengthened, modernized and revolutionized. This requires increased efforts on the part of the party organizations, communists and all military personnel to elevate political-military training, to master and creatively apply the demands of our military art of people's warfare, to master and perfect all types of weapons and military equipment, and to strengthen order and discipline on the basis of the pertinent regulations.

The army and people in our country are one and indivisible. The establishment of free military schools in accordance with the teachings of the great Lenin also serves to strengthen this unity and these links. Their consolidation is making military training an indivisible part of the life and activity of all working people.

The country's defense is strengthened and becomes invincible when the tasks confronting us in the political, ideological, economic and military fields are understood and implemented in close connection and inseparably from each other. Such an understanding and implementation of tasks will further consolidate our internal front in all directions and make it more capable of successfully meeting all situations, an iron wall against which any aggressor daring to raise his hand against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania would break his skull.

A particularly great and important contribution in the struggle against the external and internal enemies, and for the protection of the people's state power and the victories of socialist construction, has been and is being made by the internal security organs, the state security, the people's police and the border guards. Led and educated by the party, these beloved organs of the people, loyal to the interests of the people, have always carried out their duties with a high degree of consciousness and responsibility.

The party organizations in the internal security organs are required to extend and improve their work for the political, ideological, cultural and professional education of all personnel, to further sharpen their revolutionary vigilance and to strengthen discipline and their combat-readiness. The cadres and all other personnel of the system of the ministry of internal affairs must increase their efforts to gain increasingly better knowledge of the forms, tactics and methods used by the enemy, to constantly perfect themselves in the art of their work and to discover, prevent and strike powerfully and in good time against all hostile and evil activity.

Increased knowledge, both in depth and in width, of the party's line, policy and norms and of the state laws, and their implementation with a high degree of discipline, are essential prerequisites to raise the activity of these organs to a higher level, to further strengthen their class spirit, party-mindedness and objectivity in carrying out their tasks and functions.

The constant strengthening of the party's leadership and powerful reliance on the people are a guarantee for preserving and further strengthening the popular nature of the internal security organs, and for vigilantly defending the interests of socialism and the country.

The judicial and prosecuting organs have played an important role in the strengthening of our socialist order, the defense and implementation of socialist legality; in the preventive struggle against evil acts; and in the implementation of a correct penal policy in accordance with the party's teachings. Our socialist legislature has a pronounced class, political, ideological, educational and administrative nature.

This characteristic of our socialist legislature must be kept well in mind in future in the work to extend knowledge of, popularize, interpret and implement the country's laws. No case that is in contradiction with the law and falls under the jurisdiction of these organs must be allowed to pass without being investigated and judged maturely, justly, with party-mindedness and high expertise. A particular and more qualified effort must be made to activate and educate the assistant judges and people's prosecutors, who constitute a great force in protecting and implementing the laws.

As a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, our party has always shown a high appreciation of the mass organizations, which have played and continue to play a role of particular importance in the education and mobilization of the working masses to achieve the party's program. As the party's instruments, the social organizations must base not only their general orientations, but also their daily activity on the party's policy, ideology, decisions and directives. The specific nature of their work is closely connected with the particular demands that the party makes on the various strata of the population included in these organizations, as well as with the forms and methods of the work that each one of these organizations must use to fulfill its tasks.

The trade unions play a particular role in the education and mobilization of the working class and other working people. Under the party's leadership, the trade unions have successfully carried out their very responsible tasks.

The party has entrusted the trade unions with great tasks for the ideopolitical and technical-professional education of the working class in order to make it better able to carry out successfully not only its tasks in the field of production, but also in all other fields of the country's life; to participate actively in the management of state and social matters, and to exercise its control over everything and everyone as the class in power. This requires that the trade unions improve their educational work and make it more concrete and more closely linked with life and the problems concerning the various categories of workers, such as the younger workers, those who live in the villages, the service sector workers, those working in state farms and so forth, implanting everywhere the traits of the working class. They must struggle against routine, globalism and formalism in their educational work, and must use lively, agile and varied forms of work corresponding to the standards, interests and demands of the class, situations and new tasks.

As the leading class in the socialist society, the working class will again carry a heavy burden during the current 5-year period. The tasks set out require that the working class work fervently and competitively, with a high sense of responsibility and strong proletarian discipline, productively, performing high quality work and with a spirit of thrift. It is the duty of the trade unions to make the working class fully conscious of these tasks and to mobilize it for their implementation, as well as to stimulate and support the initiatives, actions and creative thinking of the working class, and to develop everywhere its revolutionary pride for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the objectives set out in the state plan.

The workers must know the laws of their state well, particularly those laws that teach them how to perform their tasks in order, how to fulfill plans in all their indexes, how to protect and administer the common socialist property, how to strengthen order and discipline at work and so forth. The workers must learn these laws together with their skills. The trade unions have a broad field of activity in this. They must also work and struggle to ensure that the state laws protecting the rights of workers are strictly implemented, and must not reconcile themselves with any violation of these laws by no matter whom. In our country duties and rights are in unison and indivisible.

The youth has always been in the van of the work and struggle in the construction of the new Socialist Albania, a military auxiliary of the party. It is a great pleasure to all of us when we see that in our country the younger generation is growing up happy, learned, politically and ideologically elevated, physically strong and highly moral. However, the concern of the party, state, society, the school and the family for the younger generation must remain constant and great, because the youth is the country's future and the hope of the people and socialism. The party and the youth organization must work constantly to increasingly raise the interest of youth for all problems concerning the country: Political and ideological, problems of the economy and defense, education and culture, as well as those concerning science and technology, that, as the most lively force in society, they may take an active part in the construction of socialism and may enter onto the path of life well-trained.

Youth is an inexhaustible training ground not only with regard to the regeneration of the party's own ranks and those of cadres, but also because they will replace generations and will fill the ranks of the working class, cooperativist peasantry and intelligentsia and will carry further the immortal deed of our party and people. To ensure that the youth will always remain sound, the party requires from its members, the youth organizations and the cadres charged to work with the youth to improve their work for the political, ideological, cultural and professional education of young people; to preserve and develop the people's patriotic and revolutionary traditions; to cultivate and stimulate the practical and creative spirit of the youth and to temper them in the great forge of socialist construction, class struggle and revolutionary actions.

The party is convinced that, as always, our youth will learn with a passion at school and in life, that they will master science and technology, that they will work with the enthusiasm characterizing them in all sectors and on all fronts, throughout Albania, that they will learn and train to defend the country and will struggle persistently to master the party's triumphant ideology.

The tasks confronting the younger generation require that the youth organization itself must be further strengthened and made more lively; that its educational, and organizational activity be raised to a higher level; that manifestations of liberalism, sectarianism and formalism be opposed; and that it should carry out its work in the most possible varied and interesting forms corresponding with the growing demands of young men and women, better utilizing all the conditions and assets that our party and state have created for the education, entertainment and tempering of the youth.

The party has always struggled and will continue to struggle to consistently implement its program for the full emancipation of Albanian women, without whom socialism cannot be conceived and its construction cannot progress. Colossal changes have been made in the life of Albanian women, but there are still a number of problems to be resolved, particularly as regards achieving the full equality of women with men in social and family life, and with regard to educational, cultural and professional standards.

The women of our country have made a great and valuable contribution in the fulfillment of the tasks set out by the Seventh AWP Congress. They and their organization, the Women's Union, must struggle to keep high and further develop the spirit of emancipation among themselves and throughout society, that the role of women as active builders of socialism, undaunted defenders of the homeland, solicitous mothers and educators of the young generation be constantly raised. The women's organization must pay attention to strengthening the family and the complex of family relationships, to the problems of mothers and children, to the way of life and so forth, struggling forcefully against all alien manifestations and backward customs that continue to manifest themselves on various occasions and in various forms and affect the dignity and personality of women.

The Democratic Front of Albania has made out a great effort in strengthening the unity of the people around the party and in the patriotic education and mobilization of the working people to fulfill the tasks of the state plan, particularly in the countryside. This massive organization of great authority and traditions must continue in future to struggle for the constant steeling of the political, ideological and moral unity of the people, to raise the active role of the masses in the construction and defense of socialism, the country's administration, the strengthening of social control and the development of socialist democracy.

The war and work veterans, the pensioners, who are increasing from year to year, are another considerable force for which the party and our state have shown and continue to show particular attention. They enjoy the respect of all society for the struggle they have waged and the valuable contribution they have made. But many of them still have strength and energies which can and must be used for social work, particularly the education of the younger generation with the rich traditions of the heroic struggle and work of the party and the people, and to develop and perpetuate these traditions.

III. The Party's Tasks for the Communists Education of the Working People

The all-round education of the new man has been and remains a fundamental question of the party's activity to constantly promote the construction of socialist society. This education has been carried out on a broad front and in close relationship with the tasks at every stage of development, with the problems presented by life and concrete situations. This has ensured the active nature and great mobilizing and transformatory work of the party and its instruments.

The conditions in which we are working and struggling for the construction and defense of socialism, and the tasks that we are setting out in this congress for the country's socioeconomic development, require that the party's educational work be raised to a higher level and that it be better concentrated on certain major current and future problems in order to create firm Marxist-Leninist beliefs among people, raise their professional capabilities and equip them with a broad culture and pure moral values.

1. The Communist Education of the Working People -- the Foundation of Our Successes

Albania is a country where socialism is being built successfully, and which remains on the sound rails of Marxism-Leninism. It is a country where the development of the economy and culture, the organization and management of the party and the state, and the formation and tempering of the new man are carried out on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism. The road followed by our country has not been an easy one. The party and people were compelled to confront numerous difficulties, to blaze both known and unknown paths, and new and untrodden ways.

Our party's endless loyalty to the immortal doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, its ability to implement this doctrine in a creative way and in accordance with the country's conditions and in complicated international circumstances, and its determination to defend the purity of its principles against the onslaughts and distortions of numerous internal and external enemies have been and remain the foundation of all the successes and victories of our people.

The party's entire concern has been to ensure that every step on the road of the revolution and socialist construction be well-considered, to ensure that the foundations of our new socialist society be such as to guarantee its constant development toward progress and to withstand the tides and storms of the hostile imperialist-revisionist encirclement. This is why the revolution and the construction of socialism in our country have not experienced ups and downs and reverses, but have always advanced and scored successes and victories.

Albania's example is a new experience in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and represents a valuable contribution to the theory and practice of socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

The communists, cadres, working people and, particularly, the young generations must learn to know well our country's development on the road of socialism. They must be as clear as possible about our starting point and the road traversed, about the line that the party has followed and implemented, and about the foundations of this society that has been built with the blood and effort of our heroic people.

Learning about this glorious path and rich experience, our people will always have a broader vista of our socialist society and its present and future stage, and will work with a higher degree of consciousness and firm belief to increasingly cement more firmly the victories of socialism and to promote them further. The party must look at this as a capital question, because the stronger the foundations of the present, all the more secure will be the socialist and communist future of our country.

The strengthening of beliefs in socialism and its vitality and superiority assumes particular importance in the present conditions, when socialism has been undermined in numerous countries and when the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and revisionism have undertaken a rabid campaign against socialism in order to devalue the revolutionary ideals and to sow the seeds of doubt and insecurity in the socialist future of mankind. The sword-edge of this entire effort, not casually, is directed against our triumphant doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, without which there is no and cannot be genuine socialism.

We must also constantly keep under consideration that the conditions in which socialism is being built in Albania are extremely complex. Our party, state and people are struggling tooth and nail and completely alone against a colossal enemy force, against the capitalist and revisionist world surrounding us.

Our people must never underrate and forget the dangers threatening our socialist society as a result of the great and all-round political, economic, ideological and military pressure of this work.

It is our historic national and international duty to stand up, to be vigilant and ready to face all situations, to defend the victories attained and to further promote the revolution and our socialist construction. We must oppose the dangerous diversion of the enemies of socialism with our determination and valor, the steel-like unity of the party and people, and with tireless work for the development and consolidation of the country's economy and defense. Above all, to defend socialism and constantly promote its advance, it is essential to constantly strengthen sound and profound beliefs in socialism as the highest social order to which the future will inevitably belong.

Working and struggling in a socialist society, our people are educated with its norms and principles, which are embodied in economic and social relations, in the administration and management of the state and of every aspect of the country's life, in the legislature and way of life, in the educational and cultural system and so forth. The socialist reality itself and the direct participation of the people in the country's socialist construction educates and helps them to understand and master the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

But the beliefs and socialist awareness created in the practice of daily life are insufficient to correctly orient ourselves in every situation, to profoundly understand the party's policy and to operate at all times with clear objectives. They may even waver in the face of various difficulties encountered in socialist construction or the great pressure of the capitalist-revisionist world, if they do not rest on a strong theoretical base. Profound and firm beliefs are created only by Marxism-Leninism which constitutes the theoretical base of scientific socialism and of the communist education of the working people. These beliefs are implanted by the party through its educational work.

Our party has made and continues to make a great effort in the Marxist-Leninist education of communists and of the masses. This aim is served by the party school, various courses and other forms of education within the party and the mass organizations, publications, the press and all other propaganda media. Marxism-Leninism is learned systematically in the various categories of state schools. The works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, as well as the numerous documents and materials of our party, have been placed at the disposal of the communists, cadres and working people.

The task confronting us now is to raise this entire effort to a new and more qualified level in order to ensure that the principles of Marxism-Leninism and our party's teachings are mastered as well as possible. The main thing is that our people should be properly armed ideologically with the Marxist world outlook and methodology, that they should be properly trained theoretically to be able to act at all times and in all circumstances like conscious and consistent revolutionaries and resolute fighters for the cause of socialism and communism, instead of being merely taught some Marxist theses and conclusions.

Our party and people must always advance and resolve new problems. The theoretical elaboration and practical solution of these problems requires that creative thinking should be constantly developed, relying on the basic principles of Marxist methodology and on the generalization of the experience gained. It is therefore necessary that Marxism-Leninism be studied, propagated and mastered as a living and creative doctrine and a science that is continually enriched, in the schools, throughout the system for the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists and the masses, and throughout the party's entire propaganda. The critical and revolutionary spirit is to be developed everywhere, fruitful debates and discussions are to be promoted, all manifestations of rigidity and dogmatism are to be opposed, a broad avenue is to be opened to progressive and party-minded thinking, and everything is to be subjected to a profound analysis and sound Marxist-Leninist logic.

Theoretical elevation is an essential prerequisite to combatting manifestations of empiricism and practicalism. It is a fact that there are communists who make little effort to master theory, who narrowly understand the problems and tasks set out and the directives and orientations given, and who loaf about things in a simplified manner and fail to delve deeply into their ideopolitical substance and their theoretical aspects.

In these matters, Stalin's words remain topical. He said: "...the higher the political level and Marxist-Leninist awareness of cadres in all sectors of party or state life, the better and more fruitful will be their work and the effectiveness in its results; vice versa, the lower the political level and Marxist-Leninist awareness of cadres, the greater is the possibility of making mistakes and of failing in one's work, the greater will be the possibility that these cadres will themselves fall down and be transformed into practitioners tackling small things, and the greater will be the possibility that they may degenerate." (J.V. Stalin, "Selected Works," pp 509-10, Tirana 1979)

Shortcomings in the general and theoretical formation inevitably lead also to subjective and voluntaristic concepts which come into opposition to the demands of the objective laws, affect the scientific management of work, check and deform the development of socioeconomic processes and harm the education of people. We encounter such manifestations on many occasions, but they are particularly more obvious and harmful in the planning, organization and management of the economy.

It is true that the socialist society is built consciously, but this does not happen according to the subjective will and desires of individuals. In socialism, too, development takes place according to laws of an objective nature. The peculiarity of socialism lies in the conscious knowledge and use of these laws in accordance with the objectives of the party and the socialist state. Herein lies also one of the great superiorities of the socialist system, which ensures a harmonious and rapid development of the economy and culture for the benefit of the working masses.

Hence the need to keep the knowledge of the objective economic laws of socialism, which remain the foundation of the party's economic policy, at the center of attention of the educational work of the party, state and all propaganda media. Having a thorough knowledge of these objective laws and acting in accordance with their demands would make it possible to avoid manifestations of subjectivism, to make full use of the superiorities of the socialist system and to place the planning and management of the economy, as well as the education of the people, on scientific bases.

It is well-known that man, with his consciousness, abilities and experience, is the decisive factor in every task and in the fulfillment of every task. This is also why the party attaches primary importance to the work with people for their constant education and tempering. But work with people is successful and can attain its objectives only when it is properly supported by economic, organizational and administrative measures, in addition to the education itself. In those cases when problems are tackled unilaterally, when the causes of shortcomings and weaknesses are sought solely in ideopolitical work or in the method and style of management, when it is believed that the situation can be changed or improved with words and meetings and without concrete actions and measures -- these are manifestations of subjectivism.

Social sciences have a great role to play in raising the level of the party's propaganda and of all the work for the education of the masses in the spirit of socialism. It is only on the basis of scientific studies and generalizations, on the basis of the experience of the party and of the masses, and on the basis of the problems arising from life itself that it is possible to carry out effective and well-argued persuasive work with people.

Our social sciences have progressed and have developed along a correct road. They have made a valuable contribution in the field of the study of the history of our people and their culture, the experience of the national liberation war and of the socialist transformations and the country's political, economic and social life.

The Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies attached to the AWP Central Committee has carried out very valuable work in the publication of the numerous materials and documents of the party, and in the study of various problems of the revolution and socialist construction.

It is the task of the scientific institutions, the higher schools and of all the cadres working in the social sciences to raise their work to a higher level, to carry out deeper studies in the fundamental questions pertaining to the experience and future of our country's development, to elaborate this experience at a high theoretical and scientific level, and to militate more actively in the party's effort for educating the new man.

The correct understanding of the decisive role of the masses in the construction of the socialist society is a fundamental question pertaining to a communist world outlook and revolutionary theory and practice. Our party has never permitted any deviation from this principle, and herein lies one of the deep reasons why socialism in Albania has been built on a correct road and is developing successfully.

The active participation of the masses in the country's administration and in all aspects of social life constitutes, as our country's experience has proven, an essential and decisive prerequisite to preserve and strengthen the people's power, to continually promote the socialist revolution and to ensure the country's strong and invincible defense.

The growing and decisive role of the popular masses in our socialist society is the most profound reflection and fundamental direction of the development of socialist democracy. From this viewpoint, socialist democracy is not merely a historic achievement of the masses of people, attained in struggle and the revolution, but also a need, an essential prerequisite, an internal law of the development of the socialist society and a great driving force pushing it forward.

Socialism has emancipated our people from all forms of exploitation of man by man. The liberation of the consciousness of the workers from the spiritual shackles of exploitative societies, and the emancipation of women, who have become equal participants with men in the country's social life, constitute a great historic victory. Our people enjoy great democratic rights and freedom, such as the right to work, to education and to elect and be elected to state and social functions; freedom of speech and press and so forth, which in our country are not only a reality sanctioned by law, but also applied in daily practice. The entire life of the country, the organization and management of the state, education, economy, culture and defense has been built in such a way that it ensures and requires the active participation of the working masses.

The party long ago explained the dangers that may threaten socialism as a result of the detachment of the power organs and cadres from the masses, the bureaucratization of the apparatuses and so forth. The party has stressed that the struggle against such manifestations and distortions must be waged continuously, not allowing them to multiply. In practice, however, manifestations of unilateralism and formalism in the conception and implementation of the democracy of the masses and of relations between cadres and the masses are encountered. There are cases where administrations place themselves above the elected organs and where some cadres fail to maintain close contacts with people or consult them only formally. There are cases where the assemblies of the agricultural cooperatives and other mass organizations are not properly appreciated and not taken into account, and where the established norms of account-rendering to the masses and so forth are not always respected not only by those who have been elected, but also by appointed cadres.

It is the task of the party propaganda to explain and argue profoundly that the role of the masses is not an abstract question, and that it is achieved through the daily activity of the collective, the trade unions, the youth organization, the Democratic Front, the Women's Union, the people's councils and all elected organs.

The party propaganda must strive particularly to ensure that the cadres really understand politically and ideologically the need for direct links with the masses, the workers, the cooperativists, the youth, women and all sections of the population. They must consult people extensively, listen to their opinions, raise problems preoccupying the party and the state with the masses and, together with them, find the most rational solutions.

When the party stresses forcefully that the voice of specialists should be heard more, and that their qualified thinking be better supported to place production on a scientific basis, this must in no way lead to underrating the progressive thinking of the masses and their rich revolutionary experience. The technical-scientific revolution can be carried out successfully in our country only if the intellectual and scientific potential of the specialists is closely linked and merges with the all-struggle and experience of the masses.

It is necessary to avoid all simplification or formal treatment of the line of the masses in its implementation. It is impermissible to drown people with fruitless meetings about unimportant matters supposedly in the name of the implementation of the line of the masses. Meetings where problems are not resolved and where no conclusions and concrete measures are taken to remedy a situation are of no value whatsoever. In the same way, it must not be allowed that the line of the masses be used as a veil behind which are concealed a lack of responsibility, shortcomings in the organization and management of affairs, or nonimplementation of duties or of established laws and regulations.

The revitalization and activation of the control of the masses from below must be the object of constant attention by the party and mass organizations, including here the direct control of worker and peasant groups, which must center their effort more on control over the administration of socialist property, the activity of administrations and also on the field of services to the people and meeting their needs.

It is of particular importance to understand correctly that the control of the masses from below must not be reduced solely to one of its forms, that of worker and peasant control groups. It must be exercised much more wisely and in the most varied forms, raising the broad masses of the people, educating them with the idea that they themselves are the masters of the country and must have their say about everything and everyone. Simultaneously, the party has stressed that the worker and peasant control groups cannot and must not replace the forms of control by the party organizations, the state organs of the mass organizations.

Socialist democracy and the role of the masses must not only be properly understood and implemented, they must also be studied more deeply and constantly perfected, the aim is to ensure that the entire process of the construction of socialism should never be allowed to be transformed into a mere bureaucratic-administrative process, but should always remain the live and creative deed of the broad working masses, under the party's leadership.

The education of the new man is one of the greatest victories of socialism and one of the most fundamental guarantees for its constant development. The historic tasks confronting the party and the people in the country's socialist construction and in successfully facing the encirclement and pressure of the capitalist-revisionist world requires people who are mature and tempered as consistent revolutionaries, equipped to a higher degree with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and ethic, people capable of withstanding the pressure of the ideologies of the exploiting classes. This requires that the ideological struggle against all alien vestiges and manifestations in the consciousness of our people be further deepened.

The struggle against petty bourgeois mentalities and psychology has been and remains a big ideological problem. It is true that the great socio-economic transformations that have taken place, as well as the comprehensive work of the party for the communist education of the working people, have dealt strong blows to the petty bourgeois psychology and have shaken it to the foundations.

However, although its sphere of action has been narrowed considerably, we still encounter petty bourgeois mentalities, attitudes and behavior in various strata of the population. Petty bourgeois concepts and inclinations are a great evil not only because they prevent the communist education of people and check their active participation in the country's socialist construction, but also because they are the cause of all kinds of vacillations and serve as a base for the dissemination of the bourgeois ideology and for undermining our socialist system itself.

The petty bourgeois mentality manifests itself in varied forms and in many fields. Its most pronounced vestiges manifest themselves in the attitude of people toward work and property, which also occupy a primary and decisive place in the activity of people.

Our working people, in the cities and in the countryside, are characterized by a lofty consciousness in their attitude toward work and socialist property. This is a distinguishing trait of our new man and a reality that stands out everywhere. However, socialism, which is the first stage of the communist society and which emerges from the old capitalist exploiting system, has its own conditions and peculiarities of development, which also leave their traces in the attitude toward work and property. Socialism, Lenin used to say, "...cannot be fully mature from the economic viewpoint and cannot be completely free of the traditions and traces of capitalism." (V.I. Lenin, "Works," Volume 25, p 559).

On the other hand, it is important also to consider the fact that the introduction of large masses of young people into social production and other sectors of life who, despite their readiness and enthusiasm to work and create in the name of socialism, are still immature in their work habits and not yet tempered by the difficulties of life.

These factors, as well as shortcomings in the management, organizational and educational work of the state and economic organs, induce us to observe alien manifestations toward work and socialist property.

At a time that we have numerous advanced examples and positive achievements, there are not infrequent cases of violations of work discipline, unjustified absenteeism, work of low productivity and quality, the nonutilization of full production capacities, damage and abuse of common property and carelessness in its administration and protection.

This is why the party insists on the absolute necessity of further raising the level and effectiveness of propaganda and ideological work with the intention of strengthening and raising the socialist consciousness of workers, cooperativists and cadres in their attitude toward work and property. This has been and must remain one of the most important fronts in the work of the party, the state organs and the mass organizations, particularly the trade unions.

The measures adopted by the party and the state to perfect socialist production relations, to further reduce the private yards of cooperative members, to improve the pay system, legislation, the planning and management of the economy and so forth, have created new possibilities and conditions to undertake broader and deeper educational work with the working masses in order to instill in them the correct concepts and attitudes toward work and property and to create everywhere an atmosphere of revolutionary optimism and mobilization at work.

The communists, cadres and all working people must become more conscious of the fact that we are living in new situations, both internal and external, which also present new duties and demands. The mobilization of all the workers in fulfilling the planned tasks to the end is imperative. The situations we are facing and the great objectives of the 5-year plan require a new pace and commitment at work, a higher sense of responsibility and greater degree of persistence; they require that we should progress more rapidly at a pace demanded by the times.

The party's educational work must instill a deep belief that work and socialist property are the two great pillars upon which rest the development of the economy and the entire life of the country, its present and its future.

A frontal and organized struggle must be waged in this field against negative manifestations and against all petty bourgeois and liberal concepts and attitudes in order to strengthen the spirit of organization, order and discipline everywhere.

The work to strengthen socialist consciousness and psychology requires that more attention be paid to knowing the various interests existing and operating in our society and to the preservation of correct proportions between them. Engels used to stress that economic relations in every society reflected themselves primarily as interests. Therefore, the implementation of the demands of economic laws and the consolidation of a socialist attitude toward work and property cannot be conceived and realized outside various interests, primarily outside economic interests.

The placing of the general interest above the personal one, the placing of the interests of the future above current interests, of the basic interests of the state over departmental and local ones, has permeated the party's activity and the activity of our state for the construction and defense of socialism. This has been and remains a guarantee to advance always on the correct Marxist-Leninist path and allow no deviations from the theory and practice of the construction of socialism.

But the personal interest still attracts people in many cases and this is reflected in the inclination to receive from society more than one gives to it, to chase after quantity to the detriment of quality and so forth.

The existence of various differences, such as the difference between the cities and the countryside, the differences in incomes between members of society and the gap between the growing demands of the working masses and the real possibilities of meeting these demands have an undoubted influence in the persistence of such phenomena. But these factors cannot justify various manifestations of placing personal interests above the general ones. In our socialist society, all possibilities exist to increasingly limit the manifestation of such phenomena through the strengthening of the education of the masses, the development of production and perfecting of economic relations and the strict implementation of the laws of the state.

This is a question that is related, above all, to the fact that in socialism the general interest is not contrary to the personal interest of the working people. When we speak about the priority of the general interest, this does not mean ignoring personal interests. In socialism the general interest is not achieved as an aim in itself, but to serve the legitimate demands of the working people, their well-being and the strengthening of the country's defense potential. The party's line is implemented correctly and consistently when the solicitude for the general interest is at no time detached from the solicitude for the individual, the need to meet his material and spiritual requirements.

The correct harmonization of the interests of cooperativist property with the general interest of society is a great economic as well as an ideological and social problem. The party must oppose those tendencies observed in certain cases when group interests are viewed as detached from the interest of society as a whole, as well as other tendencies in which, supposedly in the name of the general interest, the interests of the cooperative are affected.

This problem is related to that of the relations between the state and the agricultural cooperatives, but it is also linked with the process of transforming group property into the property of all the people. Cooperativist property is the same as state property; they are both socialist in nature; however, group property is at a lower scale of the socialization of property. Through broader and well-considered educational work, the party must make it clear to the cooperativist peasantry that group property is of a transitory nature and must also explain the ways through which it will be transformed into the property of all the people. The process of the transformation of group property into the property of all the people has already begun in our country and the pace will be quickened in the future. However, it is necessary to proceed gradually along this road, in accordance with the creation of objective and subjective conditions and taking into consideration and also respecting the interests of group property.

The party's propaganda must treat the single nature of our economy more broadly and more deeply, as well as the elements which strengthen this nature. In this context, it is necessary to wage a resolute struggle against narrow departmental, local or enterprise interests. The obstacles put in the way of the specialization, concentration and cooperation of production, and the cases of planning with a considerable margin of reserves in production, productivity and cost reductions, as well as cases when inflated demands are made on investment manpower and so forth -- all these are manifestations of narrow interests checking the development of the economy and affecting the general interests of the state and society.

In conditions when what is new predominates in our country, these manifestations of petty bourgeois psychology are increasingly disharmonious and constitute a serious obstacle on our socialist road.

A specific element of these vestiges is that they are extremely resistant and continue to exist despite the fact that the circumstances in which they arose have radically changed. They assume "new" forms, camouflage themselves in accordance with socialist norms and are revived where they find suitable ground. Some outdated customs and practices must be particularly noticed because despite the fact that they have received heavy blows, they continue to manifest themselves in lifestyles, family relationships, attitudes toward women and so forth. The party and its instruments must work to strengthen and consolidate socialist principles and concepts, the proletarian ideology and morality and to keep alive at all times the spirit of the great ideological actions and movements of the masses, whose fundamental aim is to eradicate all outdated vestiges and to affirm new socialist norms and customs. This struggle must be waged wisely and intelligently to make the new concepts and norms acceptable to everyone's consciousness.

It is therefore necessary to have a deep knowledge of the psychology of the masses and to carry out qualified and diversified educational work in accordance with sections of the population and regions, the type and place of work, collectives and sectors, age groups, sexes and individuals. The spiritual state of the masses cannot be determined well in an empirical manner, but rather on the basis of profound and systematic studies, analyzing the problem in all its multitudinous aspects and facets, its current state and the dynamic of its development and taking into consideration all the various factors which have an influence on shaping the consciousness and psychology of the masses, such as material conditions, old traditions and customs, the development of education and culture, the outside capitalist-revisionist world and so forth.

In our struggle on the ideological front we must not forget for one moment that the vestiges of the past intertwine themselves with the degenerating effects of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, which, although advertised as "modern" and "progressive," are in essence as old, if not older, and extremely dangerous.

A broad ideological aggression is directed against our country whose aim is to denigrate the reality of Socialist Albania and to confuse the minds of people. The party and its instruments must become a strong and insurmountable barrier against this aggression and its effects on our people. They must forge the ideological unity of the people and raise their vigilance and struggle against liberalism and all alien manifestations, allowing no cracks to appear, no complacency and no euphoria. The communist cadres and all workers should always adhere to the socialist principles and norms and to the proletarian ideology and morality.

The struggle against the vestiges and manifestations of alien ideologies, be they old or new, and the struggle for the communist education of the working people constitute the broadest and most comprehensive front of the class struggle waged in our country. This struggle assumes particular importance and is particularly acute in the present circumstances, when our country is progressing on the road of socialist construction relying entirely on its own forces, at a time when the struggle between socialism and capitalism, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism in the international arena has become extremely exacerbated and when the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and its pressure on our country have become more savage.

The party must work tirelessly to ensure that the communists, the people and the younger generations are constantly educated in the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that they remain at all times vigilant and ready to defend socialism against all enemies and dangers and that they should oppose within their own consciousness and within the ranks of the party and of the people all that is contrary to the spirit and principles of socialism.

To wage the class struggle correctly means to correctly implement the Marxist-Leninist line of the party, to accept the principles of socialism consciously and with firm belief, to work and struggle at all times for the good of the country and of the people and to protect and defend socialism. This means also that the class struggle must be waged allowing no deviations whatsoever, whether to the right or to the left, opportunistic or sectarian, which are equally dangerous and can have serious consequences for the party, the unity of the people and the socialist society.

Only by waging the class struggle correctly and without deviations with the broad participation of the masses and under the party's leadership will the present always be constructed correctly and on sound foundations and the future of the country and socialism secured.

The party has created an entire system of mass communications media at the service of the education of communists, the cadres and the masses, such as the press, publications, radio and TV, the cinema and so forth. Theirs is a very great role and they must therefore constantly raise the standard of their work, both in content and in form, to respond increasingly better to the growing demands of the working masses.

2. Socialism Requires People With Broad Cultural and Scientific Knowledge

A real revolution has taken place in our country in the cultural and professional standard of the working masses. In a country where about 90 percent of the people were illiterate before the liberation, more than 67 percent of the workers now have 8-year and full secondary educations and 32 percent have acquired secondary or higher professional qualifications; in the countryside, 52.3 percent of the cooperativists have 8-year and secondary educations. We now have about 47,500 cadres with a higher education and about 131,500 with a secondary and professional education. Despite this, the elevation of the educational, cultural and technical-professional standard of the working people, as an indivisible part of the communist education, remains one of the important directions of the activity of the party and state.

The intensive development of the economy, the introduction of advanced technology to a growing extent and the tasks confronting us with regard to the questions of higher productivity and quality and for greater profitability and effectiveness in production, the general prospects of the country's future development, require that our people should further elevate their educational and cultural standard and master science and technology.

The party's task is to create a correct understanding of our society's need for people who are knowledgeable, with a broad cultural horizon and with a high level of professional, technical and scientific training. The party's duty is to educate the working people to raise their own demands. Our cadres and our working people must be characterized by a progressive and innovative spirit and by a passion and will to study and learn continuously.

Our new school remains the main center of the mastery of culture, knowledge and science. The great action for the further revolutionization of our new socialist school has been going on successfully during the past 15 years. All the new fundamental structures of this process have by now been stabilized. A broad and valuable effort has been made to compile and implement new teaching programs, particularly the compilation of schooltexts of all categories.

Great efforts have been made to strengthen the ideological and scientific substance of our school in its three components, to rationalize the methods of transmitting knowledge, to stimulate the active and creative attitude of schoolchildren and so forth. All this has meant that entire contingents of pupils and students are leaving our schools with better and more comprehensive training, ideologically more mature and professionally capable.

Great successes have also been achieved in the massivization of all links in our educational system. The overwhelming majority of the more urgent needs of quantitative and qualitative development can be considered to have been resolved or on the way to being resolved. We now have an educational system which is capable of meeting present and future demands in all fields.

The time has now come when, without neglecting our constant demand for the further massivization of the entire educational system in general and certain links in particular, all the forces of our pedagogical front should concentrate more seriously and in a more qualified way on raising the quality of the work done in the schools. This need is dictated not only by the specific internal developments of education, the schools and pedagogy, but primarily by the general economic, social, scientific and technological development of the entire country.

Our school must equip the new generation with contemporary knowledge in our times the system of knowledge is constantly being renewed on a massive scale. Mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and other subjects are developing at a very fast pace and constitute the theoretical foundation of the applied disciplines of science and technology. The time lag between a scientific discovery and its application in production activity has been considerably shortened. The problem of reflecting scientific achievements more quickly in the school programs has therefore become very acute. What is needed to make room for new and essential scientific information is not a mechanical increase in the volume of knowledge, but changes in the conceptual apparatus and the renewed systematization of this information in more compact and universal structures which considerably increase its specific weight and considerably extend its fields of application.

At all levels, our schools are also confronted with the task of eliminating a certain traditionalism in the treatment of basic scientific disciplines, which has become outdated by now. This is a serious task which must in no way be resolved by grafting or by patching up the old with the new, but on the basis of a whole and single concept covering the entire period of education, particularly in the massive links of our educational system. Studies on these problems must be done carefully and in a considered manner in order to make timely preparations for eventual changes, to avoid any element of improvisation in future decisions and to work out the didactic procedures in a more detailed way and in accordance with our ideological, scientific and pedagogical criteria.

The appropriate organs must study the workload of pupils and students in a responsible manner because in reality there is an overload, which detracts from their training. This is due to poor coordination of the partial load of subjects in the educational plan, to a tendency by the schools to monopolize and duplicate the dissemination of information which can now be acquired through other channels, to unjustified demands to master concepts and ideas that are beyond the perceptive power of the various age groups and so forth. In particular, special care should be taken in working out the treatment of disciplines of a genuine ideological nature at the various levels, because a more or less unified elaboration is observed in this matter which does not take into consideration the necessary degrees of differentiation in accordance with age groups.

The further strengthening of the links between teaching on the one hand, and life, practice and production work on the not only from the viewpoint of the education and tempering of the younger generation, in which we have attained considerable achievements, but also from the viewpoint of the integration of science and education with contemporary modern production and their better placement at the service of the extension and deepening of the technical-scientific revolution -- all this also promotes the comprehensive elevation of the quality and productivity of the school's educational and teaching work.

It is necessary to bear in mind at all times that the present-day youth, which is receiving an increasingly more solid education, is a vanguard force in the achievement of the technical-scientific revolution and will be even more so in the future.

The comprehensive qualitative strengthening and elevation of the scientific level, productivity and effectiveness of the entire educational and teaching process requires even greater efforts to radically improve teaching methods in order to raise the degree of the active mastery and its stability, to stimulate creative thinking and to educate the pupils and students in the habit of independent work from the time they sit at their desks. In this context, it is necessary to adopt concrete measures to strengthen the material and laboratory base of the schools.

Our production, which has a wide range of activities by now, will be further extended in the future. The great army of secondary technicians and qualified workers constitutes one of its pillars. Particular attention must therefore be paid to the secondary vocational schools, both fulltime and those that operate in conjunction with work, which constitute 80 percent of our country's secondary education. These schools, particularly those that operate in conjunction with work and agricultural direction, must be fully consolidated. These schools must view the elevation of the theoretical training of pupils not merely from the viewpoint of enabling them to pursue their studies in the higher schools more easily, but from the viewpoint of harmonizing this theoretical training and placing it more at the service of vocational education in the appropriate field. What needs to be grasped is the training of practical aptitudes and technical intuition on the basis of a broader theoretical horizon.

Great attention must be paid to the training of higher specialists. They must be able to competently perform their tasks and, at the same time, they must be equipped with scientific imagination, without which they cannot promote the furtherance of the technical-scientific revolution in the sector where they are working. Ordinary routine work must and will occupy an increasingly smaller proportion of their time, while their pure study, innovative and scientific effort must become the basic concern of the higher specialists.

It is the task of the university and other higher schools to cultivate these qualities among their students by setting in motion their entire intellectual potential and by stronger insistence on the creative aspect of the educational and teaching process.

To achieve this, the professors in the higher schools must engage themselves more profoundly in research activity because only a researcher can follow his discipline with interest and be capable of unfolding it in the auditorium with real passion.

The extension of scientific work in the higher schools and its concentration not on small themes, but on the larger problems of the economy, production, defense and culture is also essential for the extension and intensification of scientific post-university qualification. The qualification of cadres and higher specialists is a question in which all society has an interest. Society wants the cadres to constantly increase their knowledge, to find out what is new in science and technology and to learn and qualify themselves individually, as well as in an organized and controlled manner. The construction of this new link in the educational system requires a great and responsible effort by the higher schools and the ministry of education, as well as comprehensive and very interested assistance from all other departments.

Our education is passing through the stage of the consolidation of the great achievements of its revolutionization. The constant improvement of the entire and large complex of measures constituting the substance of the further revolutionization of the school continues to be an important task. The verification of these measures is done by our revolutionary practice, which teaches us to correct imperfections, eliminate shortcomings and fill vacuums. Many things have been corrected in the dynamic of our schools' progress. But the development of the country and of education itself give rise to new problems which must be studied carefully in all their complexity, to be followed by the necessary and appropriate measures to resolve them.

Teachers and professors have a decisive role in achieving all these tasks. They must work more intensively to raise their own ideopolitical and professional standards, to broaden their general scientific and cultural horizon and to increase their pedagogical skills. All formalism in the assessment of their work must be opposed and so must any spirit of liberalism and complacency. It ~~must~~ be made clear to everyone that education requires work and effort, passion and will, a ~~high~~ sense of responsibility and discipline.

Sound social opinion plays an important role in strengthening the work of schools and can have great influence in their daily activity. It is particularly important to cultivate among the young people sound motives about learning which are based on revolutionary ideals.

The comprehensive improvement of the work in popular education also dictates the need to further perfect and revolutionize the method and style of administrative work by all educational organs, from the school directorates to the Ministry of Education and Culture. This requires the elevation of the scientific level of administrative work. It requires that the complex problems of the further development of popular education and the further revolutionization of schools be resolved on a more scientific and qualified basis.

In addition, various ministries and other institutions must better deal with the question of the training of middle and higher cadres to correctly determine the demand concerning their numbers and specialties, to engage seriously in drafting schools plans, programs and texts and to better organize the production work and the probationary stage of pupils and students at work.

The arts and culture were further developed during the sixth 5-year period, and their role in the entire effort carried out by the party for the communist education of the working masses was raised to a higher level. Considerable progress has been achieved in strengthening the substance and in raising the quality of cultural and artistic activities. Proletarian party-mindedness and revolutionary militancy are the major distinguishing characteristics of these activities. In this way, they helped to influence even more the consolidation of the world outlook of our new man and to educate him with proletarian tastes and the norms of the socialist way of life.

Worthy works of ideartistic value have been created in literature, the figurative arts, music and cinematography. The basic principles of socialist realism have always been at the foundation of these works. It is to the particular credit of our creators that they have struggled to forcefully stress the national originality and popular spirit in their works, relying strongly on our sounder literary and artistic traditions, enriching them with their innovations and opposing all conservative and liberal attitudes and all the pressure of the degenerate bourgeois and revisionist culture.

Our literature and arts have achieved considerable successes also in their affirmation among the international public. Our books, movies, song and dance ensembles and figurative art exhibitions have attracted growing attention and have been appreciated by progressive people who have found in them, in addition to progressive ideas, also a sound realistic, democratic and humanistic spirit in contrast to the decadent and reactionary spirit of present-day bourgeois and revisionist art.

Our country has been transformed into a great school where all the people learn work and embellish and make the country more prosperous. This has resulted in the establishment of an increasingly more active relationship with culture. Our people are actively participating in the creation of the values of material and spiritual culture and in their constant use. Herein lies one of the superiorities of our socialist system over the capitalist one.

Our socialist life provides literature, art and culture with more vitality, dynamism and freshness; it enriches them both in their content and form. Close links with life are the only means and the only way of discovering and affirming the high moral-political virtues and qualities of the working people, their achievements and their creative activity.

Only in this way can cultural values be transformed into a source of inspiration and mobilization of the masses to fulfill the tasks in the construction and defense of the country; only in this way can cultural values create an atmosphere of revolutionary enthusiasm in surmounting difficulties and achieving new victories.

It is an important task of all our creators in literature, cinematography, the figurative arts, music and so forth, to confront and broadly reflect in their works the great problems of the times, the processes of development and the new manifestations in life. Art and literature must deal with and propagate those powerful motifs, that great heroism and those heroes who lead with their example at work, in life, in science, in the schools and everywhere else. The extension of the range of themes encompassed by literature and the arts in order to increasingly include the breadth and variety of life is a demand of the times. In this way, our writers and artists will gradually complete that great tableau of the socialist era in Albania. The creation of this artistic testimony remains a fundamental duty of our literature and arts.

The themes that have been drawn from history and previous periods have been and will always remain valuable and essential for the education of our people with love for the homeland and the traditions of our national culture and for better acquainting them with the struggles of our people for freedom, independence and progress. But the development of literature and the arts cannot be conceived without the broadest possible inclusion of contemporary life into novels, poems, movies and into musical and figurative works. Relying strongly on the reality in which we live and reflecting it as widely as possible, literature and the arts will thus also be able to reflect the past more correctly and at a higher ideartistic level.

The effort to strengthen the national character and originality of our art must always be accompanied by the consolidation of the socialist spirit which sets the tone of our entire life. The affirmation of what is socialist is an objective requirement of consolidating the art of socialist realism. In the reflection of the socialist reality, the past, too, gains new qualitative features, is developed and raised to a higher, newer level.

The party has stressed that the reliance of our arts on popular art is an important factor in strengthening and preserving the popular and national spirit of cultivated creativity. But a correct relationship must always be preserved in the relations between cultivated and popular art and there must be no abuses in establishing priorities between them, because if the separation of cultivated art from popular art is harmful, the establishment of equality between them and the transformation of cultivated art into a mere imitation of popular art is just as harmful. The reflection of socialist reality and the wider treatment of this theme and of the typical and fundamental problems of our society are closely related to the elevation of the quality of art and literature. A high form of artistic realization must correspond with a sound content and revolutionary theme. It is not sufficient to grasp a topical theme and to write about a positive hero, the socialist reality and so forth. This alone, without artistic skill, cannot arouse the emotions, educate and inspire people in the present and future. The elevation of quality in the arts is a demand arising from the elevation of the cultural standards and aesthetic tastes of the broad working masses, as well as from the present conditions of the development of our socialist society.

The great task related to the development of literature and the arts also raise the demand for the continuous elevation of the world outlook and cultural standard of the creative forces, particularly of the younger talents. Writers and artists are creating works of lofty values when they know the life of the people, their history and psychology profoundly, when they master Marxism-Leninism and the party's teachings and when they live intensively with contemporary problems. The Union of Writers and Artists has a great role to play in all this. It must remain at all times a center of inspiration and education for the creative forces. The creativity of writers and artists and the elevation of the contents and quality of their works must remain a major object of its demand.

The other cultural and artistic institutions too, the radio-TV, the publishing houses and institutions, the theaters and the movie studio must strengthen their control and raise their demand for high quality works to give to the people. They must make efforts to eliminate a superficial, weak and shallow reflection of the reality, as well as manifestations of schematism, uniformity and a simplified understanding of the manifestations and problems of present-day life.

The tasks of the cultural and artistic institutions are manifold and comprehensive. In their work to raise the cultural level of the masses, these institutions must devote particular attention to a broader dissemination of knowledge, a better organization of technical and scientific information and the extension of production propaganda and advanced experience. They must achieve a higher degree of cooperation with the mass organizations, specialists, cadres and vanguard production workers. In addition to political and literary books, they must also pay greater attention to the publication of scientific and technical books, manuals and encyclopedias for wide use by various specialists, as well as to popular scientific publications for a massive readership.

A genuine socialist country must distinguish itself increasingly also by the high cultural standards of the people, the richness of their spiritual life, their sound aesthetic tastes and their general way of life. The strengthening of correct concepts about the socialist way of life is an important task confronting the educational and cultural work carried out in our country.

It is important to broadly and deeply understand that culture is connected with man throughout his life. It has to do with nutrition, hygiene, clothing and the environment in which he lives and works. Culture, literature and, together with them, the public service and production environment have a direct influence in forming the tastes of people. They increase the interest of people in what is beautiful at work, in life and in nature and they help in the struggle against bourgeois and revisionist tastes as well as vulgar tastes.

The dissemination of culture in the countryside poses new and important tasks. The further elevation of the cultural standards of villagers has a direct influence also on the comprehensive progress of the village itself and in narrowing the differences between the cities and the countryside. In addition to the extension, strengthening and more effective utilization of the network of cultural institutions and the improvement in their personnel standards, an important role in the dissemination of culture in the countryside is played by the assistance of the cities, the activation of the intelligentsia and the solicitude of the mass organizations. Village schools, in particular, must be transformed into centers for the dissemination of massive culture and patriotic and revolutionary traditions, the revitalization of artistic life and the education and training of new talents.

The development and progress of culture means the development and progress of the nation. There is a close dialectical connection between the two. Engels stated that history shows that every new step forward on the road of culture has also been a new step forward toward freedom. It is necessary that this be profoundly grasped by the party and state organs at the base and by all the working people on the cultural front. The higher the understanding of the importance of cultural work, the more directly concerned will they become with the problems of this activity. The organization of the assistance and control of the party and state organs must be intensified; this is primarily important with regard to the problems concerning the management, planning, content, effectiveness and educational values of cultural and artistic activity.

Our new science has made a particular contribution to the great successes attained by our people in the country's socialist construction. Our new science has extended itself to new and formerly unexplored fields, it has raised the standard of studies and is in a position to assume increasingly more difficult tasks and to respond well to the demands made on it by the development of the economy and culture.

Our men of science and technology are currently studying, designing and building all the great projects needed by the economy and defense, such as hydropower plants, railroads, deep wells, mineral enrichment plans and numerous other important industrial projects, relying entirely on our own forces. Large mineral deposits have been discovered and are being utilized which now constitute the foundations for the development of industry and of the entire economy. Good progress has been made in resolving numerous technical and technological problems of production. We have now moved on to the production of complete pieces of machinery. Studies and experiments in the agricultural sector have become an important factor in increasing yields and in improving breeds. Valuable achievements have also been recorded in the social, historical, linguistic, economic, political and other sciences.

But the stage attained in the country's development and the great tasks confronting us make the development of science, its full appreciation and the implementation of its achievements an urgent need. This need becomes even more imperative at the present stage of development of the country when we are relying entirely on our own efforts and, at a time when the economy and all other social activity sectors have embarked on the intensive road of development and high quality, productivity and effectiveness are required in every field.

These were the reasons that last year the party analyzed at a special plenum our country's entire scientific development, drawing conclusions and determining special tasks not only for the men of science, but for all party organizations and committees and the state and economic organs throughout the country. The tasks posed and the orientations given by the Eighth AWP Central Committee Plenum constitute a great work program for the present and the future. All efforts must now be centered on a persistent struggle to implement this program.

The main objective of the entire scientific and research work is to provide a firm base of support during the seventh 5-year period and to ensure the fulfillment of its plan. Another important task and objective of our science is to initiate immediate studies for the next 5-year period. To really play its role and perform its function, science must precede production and must indicate in advance the prospects for the development of the economy and culture. It is only on this basis that science can help in both planning and production.

Keeping present and future tasks well in mind, great attention must be paid to mastering contemporary scientific achievements and to the cultivation of those branches of science that are applied in fields of vital importance and which are a prerequisite for the country's progress and the strengthening of its total independence.

The major forces and assets must be concentrated on the study of our natural wealth and primarily on discovering valuable minerals. Our science must find the best possible ways to increase the country's energy resources, to use them as rationally as possible, to make the fullest possible use of all valuable components of our raw materials, to reduce costs and to raise the quality of products.

The extension of studies into the field of mechanical construction, the perfection of technologies of production, the mechanization of labor process in the field of designing and construction of various industrial, hydrotechnical, civic and other projects must be another important objective of scientific work.

Studies in the agricultural sector, particularly those concerning soil protection and improvement, the increased genetic capacities of seeds and breeds, the improvement of agrotechnical methods and the protection of plants and animals are of particular importance.

In our country's circumstances, we must insist on application. Research and scientific work must be particularly concentrated in this field. This does not mean neglecting the fundamental sciences, which constitute the theoretical base of applied sciences and modern technology. The task facing us is that the results and advanced methods of these sciences must be mastered in order to place them better at the service of production and to provide sound theoretical training for our specialists.

The deepening of the technical-scientific revolution in all fields has set in motion large numbers of people and has stimulated a real interest in more profoundly mastering scientific knowledge and carrying out experiments. Above all, it has strengthened the confidence of our cadres and of our working people in their creative capacities and thinking. In addition to the quantitative increase of rationalizations and innovations, conditions have been created by now to move on gradually to a new and broad front of greater improvements and transformations which will bring about even more radical transformations which will benefit production, technical equipment, technological conceptions and organizational forms not only in particular factories or plants, but also in entire branches. The active and effective role of science in all this must be further raised. Its activities must be carried out not only in the scientific and research institutions, but they must also be developed and widely applied in the factories, combines, in the fields and wherever material goods are produced.

The progress of science is conditioned to a large extent by its more precise and farsighted planning in accordance with the country's needs at all levels of research and scientific work, by the proper organization and coordination of the activities of various institutions, by the establishment of a suitable material and laboratory base within the possibilities of our country and by the training, constant qualification and highly effective engagement of the specialists in various fields.

The Academy of Sciences remains the largest and most important center of scientific research in our country. The party has directed it to extend its activity to other fields in addition to consolidating its present scientific institutions, particularly in the field of natural and technical sciences, which more directly resolve the great problems of production.

The establishment of the Committee for Science and Technology this year is another important measure adopted by the party to better direct and organize the scientific and research effort. Its duty is to better coordinate the country's entire scientific activity and to facilitate the application of its results.

All state organs, from the base to the center, must show a greater demand for and interest in the development of science. They must consider scientific activity to be an integral and indivisible part of their work in the planning, organization and management of the economy, culture and the entire life of the country.

The development and progress of sciences is helped when people live more closely with scientific activity and those who participate in it, when the opinion of specialists is sought and when the new is supported and when the bureaucratic obstacles and procrastinations which are sometimes seen in carrying out studies and particularly in their implementation are opposed.

The fundamental object of the work of the party organizations must be to ensure the application of the party's policy in the field of science, to ensure that research and scientific studies are concentrated on the great problems of the present and future and to ensure that scientific cadres are armed with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the party's teachings.

Comrade Enver Hoxha on the International Situation

The Party of Labour of Albania has always followed the development of international situations and the events which occur in the world with attention. It has analysed them in an objective and realistic manner, based, as always, on the Marxist-Leninist principles, and has drawn the respective conclusions. In all this work the party has proceeded from the fact that the processes going on in the world today exert their influence, to this or that extent, on our country, too. We follow and analyse the international situations with particular interest, so that we are never taken by surprise, to ensure that we are always prepared to face up successfully to any danger which might come from abroad, and to build socialism with success.

On the other hand, this also constitutes a condition for us to properly and effectively perform our internationalist duty in support of the people's struggle for freedom and national independence, democracy and social progress, and to contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security.

Viewed as a whole, the present international situation is disturbed, complicated and very tense. Major political and social forces confront one another: On the one side, imperialism, capitalism and reaction, the bearers of oppression, exploitation and war, and on the other side, the peoples, the revolutionaries and the democrats, who are struggling for national and social liberation and the emancipation of mankind. This large-scale, profound and all-round confrontation, which is a reflection of stern class clashes and has included all the continents without exception, has further exacerbated all the contradictions and the grave crisis which has swept the capitalist world today. Everything indicates that the present situation in the world could give rise to general and local wars, just as it may give rise to liberation wars and revolution. The development of events will show whether imperialism will be able to lead the world to a new catastrophe or whether the peoples will prevent the war and save mankind.

In this situation, the people's war and the revolution are on the agenda, not only as aspirations and immediate tasks for liberation from capitalist oppression and the imperialist yoke, but also as historical necessities to defeat the warmongering plans of imperialism and avert a new general war.

Comrade Enver Hoxha on the Rivalry and Contradictions Between the Superpowers

Imperialism has been and still is the source of all aggressions and predatory wars, the source of all the disasters and suffering which have existed and exist in the world. The peoples have paid the price of the insatiable greed of the imperialists for conquests and exploitation and for world domination with their blood and their lives. The struggle going on today among the imperialist superpowers and the big capitalist powers for markets and spheres of influence is further testimony of this unalterable character of the nature and aims of imperialism.

American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are contesting with one another, are competing and manoeuvring to carry out aggressions and occupy other countries. In many regions of the world the struggle between the two imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, not excluding imperialist China and other capitalist powers, has assumed new, major proportions. Each of these powers is striving to achieve economic, political and military superiority over the other and to capture new strategic positions. Although the flames of world war are not blazing yet, the local fires which have broken out and the dangerous hotbeds which have already been created may turn into a great conflagration of imperialist world war. The Middle East, and Indochina once again, are very clear evidence of this. This rivalry, this superpower policy, further complicates the situations and leads to tension with dangerous consequences in all world relations.

Of course, while we observe that the rivalry between the superpowers and the sharpening of contradictions between them constitute the main source of present-day international conflicts and the danger of war, we cannot fail to notice also their efforts to reach compromises and agreements and even temporary alliances. The effort to come to terms to the detriment of the peoples has always been the response of imperialists to the tendency towards inter-imperialist clashes and conflicts.

However, an atmosphere of mutual trust can never exist between imperialist states. Due to their aggressive nature, they are bound to act against one another openly and secretly. This is the dialectic of relations between imperialists.

Up till now the superpowers have tried to preserve a certain equilibrium between themselves, to ensure respect for their mutual spheres of influence, and to keep pace with each other in the arms race. They have made efforts to avoid a direct war between them, but now, as a result of the crisis and unequal development, this equilibrium is tending to fall apart.

They can no longer find unoccupied spaces in which to extend their expansion. Any further step brings them into collision with the other's interests and carries the danger of an unpredictable reaction. This gives rise to imbalance, to the dangers of armed confrontations which might lead mankind into a general imperialist war.

In the past, it became possible to conclude the treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons, which ensured the United States of America and the Soviet Union the monopoly of these weapons, and even to sign the SALT agreement, which established the equilibrium to these superpowers in these weapons. Now the two sides have been caught up in the fevers of unrestrained armament, in which they have lost all sense and logic. The megalomania and arrogance of the superpowers, which think they can make the law in the world and get away with it, is mingled with fear of each other and with the terror that the revolution strikes in them.

The interests of the superpowers and those of the peoples are not in accord and do not coincide at any time or in any instance. For imperialism to exist the peoples must be enslaved, for the peoples to be liberated imperialism must be destroyed.

That policy of reactionary classes which, to protect their own power and to deceive the masses, rely on one or the other imperialist state, presenting the one as good and the other as bad, the one as a supporter of the peoples and the other as their enemy, the one as the champion of peace and the other as a warmonger, is very dangerous and must be fought to the end. The superpowers, individually and jointly are the most ferocious enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples, the protectors and guarantors of reactionary regimes, supporters of national bondage to foreigners and instigators of feuds and conflicts between nations. Their policy contains the direct danger that mankind is hurled into a third world war.

Therefore, now as in the past, the struggle of all revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces to expose and foil the predatory and enslaving plans of imperialist superpowers is an historic necessity, a condition and a duty for the defence of the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples, for the triumph of the revolution, for averting the war and ensuring peace.

Comrade Enver Hoxha on the Aggressive Policy of American Imperialism

In one way or the other, in this or that form, all the peoples encounter the interference of and are threatened by the aggressive policy of American imperialism, which represents the greatest capitalist power of our time and the main defender of the bourgeois-imperialist system. From the end of the Second World War, when it emerged at the head of the imperialist powers and became the main pretender to world domination, to this day, American imperialism has caused the shedding of torrents of blood by the peoples it has attacked, either directly or by means of its obedient tools. In every counter-revolutionary process which has occurred in the world, in every fascist putsch and overthrow of democracy, in every attack on the revolution and socialism, the hand of American imperialism has always been present. This is the imperialism which has made its interference in the internal affairs of other countries, its despotism and dictate, a normal practice in international life, and which has transformed aggression and the threat of aggression into its basic policy and a permanent form of its activity.

American capital is the greatest and most insatiable plunderer of the assets and toil of the peoples that history has ever known. The American capitalist companies, which have extended their tentacles all over the globe, violate the sovereignty of the nations in the most barbarous way and make the law in many countries.

Together with the export of capital, American imperialism has also exported its way of life, corruption and degeneration, the spirit of decadent cosmopolitanism and servile submission to foreigners.

American imperialism has covered the globe with military bases, which are the main outposts for its war and aggression. It pursues the policy of strengthening the existing blocs and setting up new military blocs, by means of which it ensures its own domination over its partners, threatens to put down the revolution and the people's struggles with fire and steel, and defends the system of capitalist oppression and violence by force.

At the present time American imperialism has begun to apply a harsher, more aggressive and more adventurous line in foreign policy. It is relying more and more on military force. Reagan's new policy is clear evidence of this.

Now American imperialism is demanding that the whole of world reaction and counter-revolutionary forces unite in a single crusade under the American aegis against the revolution, socialism, the freedom, independence, sovereignty of the peoples and against the democratic human rights. Considering nearly all the zones from which oil and all the main raw materials are extracted, all the sea routes and all the strategic points of the globe as "zones of American interests", and by officially declaring that it will intervene with arms to defend these "interests", American imperialism has come out openly with a concrete program for the extension of its political and military power all over the world. The creation of the "Rapid Deployment Force", that great aggressive army ready to intervene anywhere that the Pentagon sends it to establish the domination of the United States with fire and steel, is an incontestable proof of this course.

This line is also expressed in the new "doctrine" of Washington, begun by Carter and further developed by Reagan, that allegedly peace in the world and the security of peoples can be achieved by means of the "increase of the American power and superiority". In reality, this "doctrine" incites general imperialist war and brings it closer. The unprecedented build-up of various weapons, from the conventional weapons to atomic bombs equivalent to hundreds of megatons, the incitement of the militarist spirit and the total mobilization to achieve military superiority over the Soviet rival at any cost, are creating the concept in American leading circles that war is not only inevitable, but also an imperative necessity.

All these things show that the world will be faced with an intensification of the aggressive policy of American imperialism, an increase in its interference in internal affairs of other countries and especially in the use of its military force.

In these conditions any concession or giving way to American imperialism, any illusion that its policy might change for the better, carries great dangers for the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples.

Comrade Enver Hoxha on the Hegemonic and Expansionist Policy of Soviet Social-Imperialism

Today the hegemonic and expansionist policy for the establishment of world domination, the adventurous course for the preparation and incitement of war also characterize Soviet social-imperialism, the global strategy of which and especially the ways in which it is applied have likewise become more aggressive.

Beginning with the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the policy of the Soviet Union has gradually assumed a pronounced militarist character which is expressed in the use of military force to realize its expansionist aims. Its military interventions followed one another. After Czechoslovakia came Angola, Yemen, Ethiopia, Eritrea, into which the Soviets intervened by third parties. Finally came Afghanistan. Afghanistan marked the commencement of the great march of Soviet social-imperialism towards the south, where the world's greatest resources of energy are found, together with the most important strategic junctions and the fields where the most acute imperialist rivalries collide with one another.

The policy of the Soviet Union has assumed the same aggressive, expansionist, war-mongering features as those of the United States of America. This is clearly apparent from the same objectives which they have chosen and the parallel courses on which they are proceeding. The Soviet Union is seeking military bases in foreign countries and creating political-military alliances with other countries to have them as outposts for the extension of its domination over the peoples and in its contest with American imperialism. Likewise, it is not lagging behind in the armaments race. The Soviets have now a huge military arsenal which they are continuously building up and perfecting in the preparations which they are making for the outbreak of the war. The militarized Soviet economy has been placed in the service of realizing the plans of this new imperialist superpower for conquests.

As a result of all these things, the Soviet Union has been unmasked before the peoples as a ferocious imperialist power which is openly threatening and endangering their freedom and independence.

Nevertheless, among certain people and political forces in various countries, illusions about the Soviet Union still exist and there is a mistaken concept about the order which exists there and a naive trust in its policy. This comes about not only from the fact that the Soviet Union gambles heavily on its socialist past and that it peddles its policy of rivalry with the United States of America as an anti-imperialist policy, but also for many other reasons. The main one among them is that the Soviet expansion is generally carried out through its penetration into the anti-imperialist liberation movements, transforming them into its instruments and exploiting them to its own advantage. The facts have shown that not only those who have trusted the "internationalist aid" of the Soviet Union, but also those who have believed that they can rely on Soviet "aid" and alliance with it in order to oppose or gain liberation from American imperialism and other imperialisms, have become victims of its expansion.

It is particularly important to unmask the pacifist demagoguery of the Soviet Union, the Khrushchevite slogans of "peaceful coexistence" and the misleading revisionist propaganda which tries to convince the peoples that averting war and ensuring peace, indeed even national independence and social transformations, depend on the so-called detente between the two superpowers. The peoples do not want mounting tension, the development of acute conflicts, or the use of force in the settlement of international problems. But the so-called detente, which the Soviet revisionists advocate, has nothing at all to do with guaranteeing international peace and security which are threatened precisely by the two imperialist superpowers.

The detente trumpeted by the Soviet revisionists and the others is nothing but the old imperialist theory of balance and harmony among the great powers. The theories of "detente", "balance", or "bipolarism" which, despite some nuance in form, are identical in content, are intended to guarantee the mutual spheres of influence, to raise the dictate of superpowers in world affairs, the complete and unconditional submission of other countries to the two superpowers and abandonment of their national interests and sovereignty, to international law.

Comrade Enver Hoxha on the Great Resistance of the Proletariat and the Peoples of the World

The imperialist-revisionist policy of war, oppression and exploitation has run into the great resistance of the proletariat and the peoples of the world. The peoples understand the intrigues, manoeuvres, strategy and tactics of the savage superpowers -- the United States of America and the revisionist Soviet Union, and are not sitting idle.

The world today is witness to the fact that the struggle of the working class and the peoples, oppressed and exploited by world capital and imperialism, has assumed wide proportions and a variety of forms never seen before. The working class and all the exploited, in one way or another, with greater or lesser intensity, are fighting against all the capitalist ruling forces, whether local or international, which exploit them, impoverish them and oppress them economically and morally.

In all the capitalist countries, the resistance of the working class to the attacks of the bourgeoisie and its struggle to defend its standard of living and democratic rights have extended. Not only have the strikes, demonstrations and manifestations become more frequent, but the participation of workers in them has also reached unprecedented figures. Millions of workers are on strike in the USA, in Britain, in the FRG, in Italy, in France, Spain and elsewhere. These strikes and demonstrations are assuming a more and more militant character. Proof of this is the fact that in many countries of Europe and America the apparatuses of bourgeois violence have been obliged to use their weapons and fight the workers, as well as to take other restrictive and repressive measures. Cases in which the workers do not obey to bourgeois trade-unions and come out in the streets against the desire and orders of the trade-union bosses have increased.

In the present period the workers' struggle has been directed especially against the consequences of the economic crisis, the burden of which the bourgeoisie wants to throw on to the working class. The working masses have risen against this new injustice and robbery and are demanding that this burden should not fall on them, but on their employers. They are fighting to retain their jobs and real wage levels, fighting against inflation and the increasing cost of living, fighting for increased funds for health, education, social assistance, etc.

The social and political demagoguery of capitalism and the opportunism and sabotage activity of social-democracy, revisionism and the trade-unions under their control are also being exposed and unmasked in this daily confrontation between the working class and the bourgeoisie. This anger and revolt, which is hitting the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie in different forms and with different intensities, is also a direct and powerful blow against the sinister forces of war which want the destruction of mankind.

In the capitalist and revisionist countries today, the working class is bound by many chains with which the bourgeois state and the various parties have shackled it. But this state of affairs will not last for ever. The increasingly acute contradictions between labour and capital and the capitalist and imperialist oppression in general are accelerating the rise in the political and class consciousness of the proletariat and making it conscious that it can escape oppression and exploitation only through class struggle, only through revolution.

On the Struggle of the Iranian People

Besides the upsurge and extension of the struggle of the working class, a general awakening of the oppressed peoples, a strengthening of national feelings, and a greater desire to be free, independent and sovereign can be seen today. The people's liberation movements have grown in extent and enhanced their quality, their anti-imperialist anti-social-imperialist and anti-neo-colonialist character has been strengthened.

The struggle of the Iranian people, who rose in revolution and swept away the shah and his medieval regime and threw out his American patrons, was a heavy blow to imperialism. In Iran, the United States of America suffered a major political defeat which is unable to reverse through diplomatic methods and economic blackmail, or even through military intervention, as it attempted and failed to do at Tabaz. In Iran, American imperialism lost one of its most important sources of oil, lost colossal profits and lost its credibility as an invincible protector of its Arab "allies" of the Persian Gulf. The Egyptian-Israeli compromise at Camp David was shaken, and open surreptitious disagreements with its NATO partners emerged.

On the Struggle of the Arab Peoples Against the Israeli Occupiers and Their American Patrons

The struggle of the Arab peoples against the Israeli occupiers and their American patrons has assumed greater proportions and intensity. In the centre of this struggle stand the heroic Palestinian people, who in extraordinarily difficult conditions, have been waging a titanic battle for tens of years to regain the homeland denied them, to secure their rights and live free and independent on their mother soil. The people of Afghanistan are fighting valiantly and boldly against the Soviet social-imperialists and the local lackeys to regain their national independence.

On the Struggle of the Peoples of Latin America

The peoples of Latin America are shedding their blood in the fight against the fascist dictatorships, which are kept in power with the direct aid of American imperialism. The liberation and revolutionary movement there is growing and deepening and in many cases has succeeded in conquering the enemies and emerging triumphant. The most recent evidence of this is the triumph of the revolution in Nicaragua, which overthrew one of the most reactionary regimes -- that of Somoza, the outbreak of the revolution in Salvador, etc. In the "backyard" of the United States great tempests are blowing up, tempests which cannot be stopped, either with weapons or with dollars.

On the Struggle of the Peoples of Africa

The African Continent is not passive, either. Thanks to a long and persistent struggle, the overwhelming majority of the African countries won their state independence one after the other. Through armed struggle the black population of Zimbabwe succeeded in winning its rights, which a reactionary minority of old colonialists denied it. However, Namibia and the people of South Africa, who continue to live in segregation and without any rights, are not yet liberated. The peoples of Africa have not reconciled and cannot reconcile themselves to racism. Its existence insults and angers all the African peoples.

The people's national liberation wars, the bloodshed by the peoples who are fighting for freedom and independence, reflect the hatred for and anger against capitalist exploitation and the imperialist yoke. They confirm Lenin's theses about imperialism as capitalism in decay, as the eve of proletarian revolutions. They confirm that imperialism is heading for the abyss, that it is no longer capable of stopping the revolutionary drive of the peoples who dare to rise against it and are not intimidated by the imperialist pressures, threats and even armed interventions.

Comrade Enver Hoxha on the Grave, Economic, Political, Ideological Crisis in the Capitalist-Revisionist World

The international situation and the danger of war are becoming even more acute because of the grave economic, political and ideological crisis which has swept the capitalist and revisionist world today. The present economic crisis is the clearest and the most concrete expression of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Unlike the crisis of the 30's, which included the United States of America and the big developed countries especially, the present crisis has engulfed all the capitalist countries, developed or undeveloped, without exception. This greater extent and depth of the crisis results from certain new factors in the development of the capitalist system after the Second World War, such as the further increase in the concentration and internationalization of capital, the establishment of the almost complete domination of the dollar in the world financial system, the extension of the activity of multinational companies and their ever increasing weight in world production and the growth beyond all bounds of nonproductive expenditure, especially on armaments.

The class and liberation struggles, the general weakening of the positions of imperialism, which came about as a result of the destruction of the colonial system and the emergence of scores of new states, which, to this or that extent, are fighting to achieve complete political and economic independence, have exerted an influence, on the birth and development of the present crisis.

Like all the other crises, the present crisis is one of over-production. It is the offspring and an inevitable phenomenon of the capitalist system. Unlike the others, this crisis is continuing for a long time and there is no sign of emerging from it.

The capitalist economy remains in stagnation. In some countries production is declining further or showing only some unimportant increase. Because of the restriction of markets, exports are declining on a world scale. The productive capacities of the big industrialized countries are being utilized less and less. Unemployment in these countries has reached 25 million people. Inflation is rising continuously.

Like any other crisis, but more so in this case, the present crisis has proved that, irrespective of the external forms it may assume during its development, the bourgeois system cannot ensure an harmonious growth of the economy, cannot ensure work and food for all the working people, cannot avoid economic catastrophes, and the destruction of productive forces and the national wealth created with the sweat and blood of the working people.

The present crisis is the crisis and failure of state monopoly capitalism. The mechanism of the state monopoly regulation of the economy has not only proved to be powerless against the crises, but has been transformed into another factor increasing the economic difficulties. Thus, it has been proved that the intervention of the monopoly state, the capitalist programming, are unable to eliminate competition, to ensure full employment of the population and to eliminate the obstacles to extended social reproduction.

With the present crisis, the model of the capitalist "consumer" society has received a crushing blow. The economic theories of present-day capitalism, spread and applied in all the big capitalist countries, and which inspired a number of revisionist countries in their economic reforms, have gone bankrupt along with.

Moreover, the present crisis has clearly shown the decay of the capitalist system, not only in its classical form, but also in the form of capitalism which prevails in the Soviet Union-state monopoly capitalism and its superstructures. This capitalist form of the domination and exploitation of the working people could not avoid the disturbances in the economy, the disorganization of the productive forces, the decline in production, the fall in the standard of living of the working masses, and the spread of the ills which bourgeois society creates.

If we were to make a general characterization of present-day capitalist and revisionist world economy we would say that it is in a state of stagnation, which is more and more degrading the internal social relations and the relations between states. What stands out most obviously is the intensification of a general attack on the standard of living and the rights of the working people. In almost all countries, expenditure on health, education, aid for children, pensions, etc., is being cut drastically.

Along with the worsening economic situation of the working people, in most of the capitalist countries there are mounting demands for "strong" government, with the purpose of imposing anti-worker measures on the population and keeping in check the mounting class struggle. In some countries military putsches are carried out, there is terrorism and anarchy, organized by the bourgeois capitalist governments in power, there is illegal trafficking on a colossal scale, robbery organized on a national and international scale, and a hideous, unlimited development of physical, moral and political corruption. Fascism is knocking at the gates of many countries.

In all directions and in all aspects the present crisis proves that Marx's analysis of capital and Lenin's conclusions about imperialism remain not only correct but also the fundamental scientific basis for understanding the present social processes going on in the capitalist world and the tendencies of their development.

Comrade Enver Hoxha on Contradictions Between the Imperialist Powers

The economic crisis and the aggressive course of the superpowers have made all the contradictions between the imperialist powers more acute and struck heavy blows at their blocs and alliances. The economic, political and military relations within the various imperialist and revisionist groupings have been shaken. The members of Western and Eastern groupings are trying to exploit various splits and to find excuses for not abiding by the commitments, treaties and agreements which exist among them. New conflicts and rivalries have been added to the old ones. This is more obvious especially in the Western bloc.

On the Policy of American Imperialism Towards Western Europe

The American policy of the big stick against the peoples is accompanied with a tightening of the screws on its partners and clients. From Europe, Japan and China, American imperialism demands not only collaboration in all fields, but also complete submission. It is trying to dictate to its NATO allies that they increase their military budgets and accept the stationing of the new American "Pershing" and "cruise" missiles on their territories, that they do not emerge with a policy of their own and do not flirt with the Soviet Union or the Arabs. However, the situation in the world today and the condition of the United States of America itself are no longer what they were in the time of Truman and the Marshall Plan.

Today, the political and economic power of the United States is declining in comparison with that of Western Europe. The competition from the Common Market and Japan has become very powerful and threatening. Whereas in 1950 the industrial production of the United States of America was two-thirds of world industrial production, today it is one-third of it. Whereas the USA at that time possessed 50 per cent of the world monetary reserves, today it has only 7 per cent of them. The leadership of American imperialism has been greatly weakened and is accepted reluctantly.

The European members of NATO have now organized and strengthened their economic potential within their countries and abroad, have strengthened their own military arsenal, and have created their reactionary organism—the European Common Market. Its tendency is to oppose the American dictate as much as it can, to restrict the American expansion into the markets of its member countries, to compete on the American market and to extend its own markets. Each of the big states of Western Europe has begun to re-create and strengthen its own spheres of influence on an extensive scale.

The strategy of the European monopolies is aimed at the transformation of Europe, first into an economic superpower, then into a political superpower, and later still into a military superpower. However, these are fields in which it will come into collision with the superpowers and other imperialist powers.

On the Policy of American Imperialism Towards China and Japan

On the chess-board of the present situation, a very favourable piece for the United States of America is China, and Japan along with it. True, China is a weaker partner than "united Europe", but it has greater need for America and is very hostile to the Soviet Union. For this reason American imperialism has decided to provide China with many armaments, including offensive weapons. At the same time, it is putting pressure on Japan to increase its military budget, its army and armaments.

Already a new imperialist alliance between the United States, Japan and China has taken form in the Far East, and this constitutes another danger that local wars, or a general war, will break out. Apart from American imperialism, which has considered the vast expanses of the Pacific Ocean as its indisputable spheres of influence, now Japan, too, an economic superpower with new imperial ambitions, has emerged with hegemonic pretensions. China, which dreams of becoming the sole ruler of Asia and Oceania, also, has similar ambitions in this zone. The United States of America, for its part, is trying to direct the expansionist tendencies of China and Japan towards the Soviet Union.

On the Policy of the Soviet Union Towards Europe, Africa and Asia

In order to cope with and counter the African-Sino-Japanese front in Asia, the Soviet Union is trying to get footholds in Africa, the Middle East, Pakistan, Indochina, and if possible, also in India, while in Europe it seeks to maintain a "detente" with the Common Market and pursues a policy to split the front. In other words, it is making every effort to weaken the encirclement around it, to split the military bloc which is being prepared and developed on its two flanks - in Europe and Asia, and to secure dominant strategic positions for an eventual war. However, Europe, for which the Soviet Union constitutes a great threat, does not want to be endangered, either. It is ready to set the others, especially the Sino-Japanese front, fighting the Soviet Union so that this front draws the chestnuts of the fire for it.

Moreover, it also has its internal problems which frequently bind it hand and foot. "United Europe" is not internally united. The parliament of Strasbourg cannot settle its many problems and the contradictions which are eroding the Common Market. The feuds, rivalries and opposing interests of each state are increasing to such an extent that they are putting the very existence of this market in jeopardy.

On the Situation Within the So-Called Socialist Community

The contradictions and disagreements have become very acute, also within the so-called socialist community. The Soviet Union itself is in such difficulties that it is no longer able to fulfill the demands of the allied countries for a normal development of their economies. Having long ago turned into appendages of the Soviet economy, these countries are obliged to submit to its ups and downs and caprices.

There are frictions and quarrels also because of the tendency of the satellite countries to move closer to and collaborate with the West. The Soviet Union tries to hinder this rapprochement and to keep the countries of Eastern Europe bound to it with the chains. To this end, it is trying in every way to strengthen the Warsaw treaty, Comecon and the other organisms of economic and political integration, to reinforce its military garrisons in these countries, etc. When this cannot be achieved through agreement, it acts with tanks, as it did in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The best evidence of the grave situation in the "socialist community" and of the deep contradictions eroding it, are the recent events in Poland, which have led that country to the brink of economic catastrophe and to major social and political upheavals. These are consequences of the line pursued by the Polish revisionist party for the re-establishment of capitalism of the all-round subjugation of the country to the Soviet Union, of opening the doors to Western capital and the consequence of the large debts to Poland, which amount to the colossal sum of 27 billion dollars. Herein lies the source of the revolts of the working class and working people of Poland.

The revolt of the workers of Poland has confirmed two capital questions of principled importance. It has shown that the working class has the strength to destroy a reactionary state power, either revisionist or capitalist.

On the other hand, it has demonstrated that the subjective factor, the political force which leads the working class, plays a decisive role. In the case of "solidarity", the working class is manipulated and directed by the Catholic Church and Polish and world reaction, which are fighting to establish another revisionist-capitalist regime on a course full of unexpected dangers and tragic consequences. Otherwise, had a truly Marxist-Leninist communist party, the subjective factor, been in the leadership, the Polish working class would have carried out the proletarian revolution and established the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The way for the working class and people of Poland and all the other revisionist countries to escape capitalist exploitation and foreign oppression is not through reconciliation with the revisionist regime in power and with the Soviet social-imperialist slavery, or through uniting with Western capital and reaction.

The only way to ensure the development of the economy, the freedom and independence of the country and the reestablishment of socialism is through the open and resolute struggle of the masses of the people under the leadership of the working class, with a genuine Marxist-Leninist party at its head.

The sharpening of the contradictions among the imperialist powers, as well as with their partners within their military and economic blocs, is increasingly leading to new tensions and conflicts, to wars of a local and general character for the redivision of markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence. This is a law of the development of capitalism.

However, the inter-imperialist contradictions and conflicts also cause the weakening of the imperialist system as a whole and of its individual links. It is up to the conscious revolutionary forces to know how to utilize the situations created by these contradictions in order to mobilize the masses, to make them conscious and engage them in struggle and revolution.

Comrade Enver Hoxha on the Crisis of the Neo-Colonialist System, on the Resistance and Struggle of the Peoples Dominated by Neo-Colonialism

The neo-colonialist system created by imperialism after the Second World War is also in a grave crisis at present. In order to retain their political and economic domination, to ensure the maximum exploitation of the wealth of former colonial countries, to restrain the growth of the liberation movements of the freedom-loving peoples, the imperialists have tried to find and employ new forms of oppression and enslavement, ever more deceptive and sophisticated.

By means of the system of credits, loans, aid, and various funds, they have turned these countries into permanent debtors at the mercy of creditors who, in return for the money provided, demand not only their title-deeds, but also their souls. Accompanying the credits and aid, the multinational companies have established themselves, becoming not only monopoly holders of concessions for the exploitation of the mines, oil, electric power, wholesale trade, communications, etc, but also political centres with which the different groups in power in each country are linked. The big banks with alluring names like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the European Development Fund, etc, have been transformed into the headquarters of international neocolonialism for the domination and exploitation of the new countries. They are the financial and political centres which, together with the multi-nations, organize and inspire coups d'etat, topple governments and establish others and even cause local wars when the interests of big capital require this. These conflicts have been turned into big business for the sale of arms and have been used for conducting tests on live testing grounds.

But besides this savage and all-round exploitation, certain changes of the economic and social structures have occurred in the former colonial countries, which are the result of investments, the introduction of new technique and technology, the extension of communications, etc, which the imperialists have been obliged to carry out so as to achieve greater and more rapid plunder of the wealth above and below the ground. This has also brought about the creation of new local social strata such as the national bourgeoisie, workers of various categories, and a new intelligentsia necessary to work in the economic, political and administrative sectors.

This development has opened the eyes of many people of these strata, especially among the new intelligentsia, who no longer reconcile themselves to the forms and methods which are used for the oppression and exploitation of their peoples.

National revolutionary consciousness is mounting everywhere. This is clearly apparent in the extension of the movement of various countries and forces which are struggling for the establishment of national sovereignty over their own national assets, re-evaluation of raw materials and sources of energy, for equal exchanges with mutual benefit in international trade, for alteration of the international monetary system established by imperialism, for the restriction and elimination of the monopoly economic power of the multi-national companies, etc.

This movement has deepened the existing economic crisis, and especially the energy and raw materials crisis which has gripped the capitalist revisionist world.

The big capitalist powers have built their industrial empires with the oil they have robbed from other peoples and the raw materials they have bought cheaply. The parasitic and uncontrolled consumption of world resources of energy and raw materials has created the present critical situation in this basic sector of the development of economy of every country.

Energy and raw materials exist, but they are no longer found at cheap prices. The big imperialist and capitalist powers are now unable to completely dominate the sources of raw materials and dictate their prices. The producing countries, which have woken up and are defending their interests, which are seeking development, want to make investments in industry, agriculture and other sectors of their national economy, are resisting the pressure for low prices for oil and raw materials.

The resistance and struggle of peoples dominated by neo-colonialism in defence of their rights, assets and national sovereignty is an irresistible process which will increase and develop further in the future.

Imperialism and its system of neo-colonialist oppression and exploitation is profoundly aware of this threat. Therefore, it is making every effort, using demagogy and deception here and force there, to suppress this movement to confuse its revolutionary and progressive vanguard, to make it deviate and lead it into a blind alley. On the other hand, in order to deceive the peoples of the oppressed and dependent countries, and to keep the rotten neo-colonialist system in existence at all costs, its defenders try to create the impression among world opinion generally that these countries are completely free and sovereign, that they have the right to their "independent" say in the various international organizations and even to disagree with and oppose the superpowers.

On the "Non-Aligned" Movement

Imperialism stimulated and encouraged the emergence of various movements and theories which created this impression. One of them is the "Nonaligned" Movement. The basis of it was advocacy of non-participation in political and military blocs and defence of the interests of the economically undeveloped countries against the superpowers policy. Now, however, when the rivalry between the superpowers has increased, when the crisis has narrowed the fields for manoeuvre, it is quite apparent that a large number of "non-aligned" countries are uniting with one or the other superpower. Along with the splitting of the movement and the many conflicts between different so-called non-aligned countries, the demagogic theories so painstakingly concocted by the different leaders, especially the Yugoslavs, who have wanted to become the leaders and ideologists of this group, collapsed, too. Now it has ended up as an ill-defined, fluid and fickle movement which flares up and dies down according to the situations which are created and the interests of the superpowers.

On the Chinese Theory of "Three Worlds"

At one time, the Chinese theory of "Three Worlds" also emerged as a theory in defense of neo-colonialism and especially of the American domination of the world. But it melted away like salt crystals in water. It was played as a trump card, but was very quickly over-trumped. Our party exposed and attacked this reactionary, counter-revolutionary theory.

On the "New International Economic Order"

In recent years there has been a great deal of propaganda about what is called the "new international economic order" which is supposed to solve the great tangle of problems that are worrying the economically undeveloped countries today, such as those of industrialization, food, the transformation of the structures of production, etc.

Around this "new order" various theories have been created, complete schemes and projects have been presented and concrete actions have been undertaken, such as the so-called North-South dialogue, the conference of the 77, the special meetings of the General Assembly of the United Nations, etc.

However, years have gone by and nothing has been achieved, because the imperialists and the neo-colonialists do not renounce their privileges and dominant positions. The fruitless resolutions of various international meetings and the decisions to hold new meetings are all that remains from them.

Of course, it is essential that the international economic relations are changed. This is the desire and demand of the peoples who are fighting to break free from the chains of neocolonialism. But in what way can these be achieved? The revisionists and other opportunists pretend that this can be achieved by means of propaganda, by means of the education of capitalists, and by means of talks. The opinion that a new international economic order can be achieved through moralizing sermons is not only beyond any bounds of reality and possibility, but also an ill-intentioned fraud. The correct course is the struggle of the peoples to defend their rights to the end, resolute opposition to the neocolonialist plunder, the taking over and the sovereign administration of the national assets. Only thus can the undeveloped countries impose their just demands for equal exchanges in the economic field, collaboration with mutual benefit, etc., on the big imperialist and capitalist powers.

The big imperialist powers, together with those not quite so big, think and theorize that it is they who have the fate of nations and mankind in their hands and act accordingly, and on this basis they seek to subjugate the peoples. These aggressive powers underestimate the strength of the peoples. Their vision is obscured and they do not want to see that every advance of the peoples towards opposing the two fold oppression and enslavement, external and internal, makes a breach which will be widened in the wall of the capitalist and imperialist prison.

American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism make great efforts to appear as two invincible superpowers. True, they have great military and economic potential, influence and interfere in the internal affairs of other peoples and states, but to have weapons, to have dollars or rubles does not mean that you have invincible power. The imperialist superpowers must be appraised as they really are, neither underestimating nor overestimating them. They are powerful and ferocious, but they are also in decay, they are worm-eaten and degenerate, and their foundations are shaky.

World capital is making great efforts to escape the crisis, to protect itself from the people's liberation struggles and from the revolution, this terrible iron grip which has it by the throat and is strangling it. But escape is impossible, because it is the capitalist system itself which creates political, economic and ideological crisis and which fuels them and intensifies them to the highest degree. In order to emerge from the chaos which capitalism creates, to escape once and for all capitalist oppression and exploitation, the neo-colonialist yoke of foreigners and the domination of reaction, there is no other course apart from the revolution, the overthrow of imperialism and capitalism.

The struggle of the peoples, the struggle of the proletariat against their enemies will surge ahead. It is an objective historical process which no force can stop.

Comrade Enver Hoxha on the Foreign Policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

The complex and difficult situations which have been and are being created in the world face our party and our socialist state with the duty of maintaining the revolutionary vigilance always at a high level, and taking measures for the all-round strengthening of the economy and defence, and the unity and political consciousness of the people. These situations, likewise, demand that our foreign policy should be active, should ever better serve the defence of the interests of the homeland and the victories of socialism, the advance of the cause of the revolution, the liberation of the peoples and peace in the world, and the support of all those processes which assist the emancipation and progress of present-day human society.

Our foreign policy, as the policy of a socialist state, of a truly free society without exploiting classes, is a revolutionary and internationalist policy. It is free from the slightest sin of narrow bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism, national exclusiveness, or of underration of other peoples. The Albanian people have respect for every people and wish all peoples well.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania firmly upholds the principle that each people has the right to choose its own course of development and decide its own fate in a sovereign way.

As a completely free country, Socialist Albania says what it thinks openly, without any hesitation and with complete sincerity. It applies a sovereign foreign policy which is not restricted by political pacts, military treaties or closed economic organizations. It does not base its economic and political development, its defence and its future on the credits, loans or aid from other states, but on its own forces.

As a result of this, the voice of Albania has always been a free, realistic and objective voice in a world where the dependence on and subjugation of many states to big imperialist powers restrict and distort any independent thought or action.

On the Extension of Diplomatic Relations of Albania With Other Countries

During the period since the 7th congress of the party, our state, basing itself on the well-known principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, non interference in internal affairs and reciprocal benefit, has extended its diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with an ever greater number of states and has steadily increased its exchanges with them in various fields. Today the People's Socialist Republic of Albania maintains diplomatic relations with 95 states, as against 74 states with which it maintained relations at the time of the 7th congress of the party.

The policy of our party and our socialist state has been and always will be for the continuous strengthening of sincere relations of friendship and collaboration with all the freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples, with all those who fight against the aggressive and hegemonic policy of imperialists. It is for the development of sincere collaboration with all those countries which wish it well and maintain a correct attitude towards it.

Our party and country are opposed to all those imperialist and neo-colonialist practices of inequality, discrimination and great-state dictate in international relations. We believe that the relations between states, whether big or small, should be free from any kind of economic, political or military pressure and dictate, and should serve their economic, cultural and social development, the strengthening of friendship between sovereign peoples and states, and the interests of the maintenance and strengthening of peace in the world.

On Trade Exchanges

Our socialist state has been and is for the normal and free development of international trade on the basis of equality and reciprocal benefit. Our country is for balanced trade exchanges without discrimination or restrictive measures, therefore it has expressed its opposition to unequal relations in trade exchanges, to the manipulation of prices and, in general, to machinations and attempts by any state at all, which aims to exploit trade relations as a means of pressure in order to dictate its own political will and views to the other state.

We do not confuse trade exchanges with receiving of aid and credits. These are two separate, unconnected things.

The way we understand and carry on foreign trade, leaves the Albanian state a free hand to act and decide for itself, to have its say just as it thinks and to build the country with its own forces as it desires.

On the Exchanges in the Fields of Art, Culture, Science, Sports, Etc With Other Countries

Our country has concluded a series of cultural agreements with many countries and carries on regular exchanges in the fields of art, culture, science, sports, etc. These exchanges have served to acquaint our peoples reciprocally with one another's achievements and progress. Our people value and utilize everything good and progressive which other peoples have. Progressive experience and culture are the treasure of all mankind. At the same time, we make efforts to acquaint the other peoples with the values of our culture, too, which is as ancient as it is progressive.

It is the principled and independent internal and foreign policy of our party and socialist state, their just stands on international issues, their struggle on the side of the peoples and against imperialism, which have strengthened the international position of Albania and raised its prestige.

The word and deed of Albania are listened to and welcomed with respect by the peoples and workers of different countries, because they are in conformity with their own interests and aspirations. That is why the peoples and progressive opinion throughout the world prize and approve this policy, why the countries and states with different social systems follow it with interest and admire it, while reaction and the Soviet, Yugoslav and other modern revisionists, attack it.

Comrade Enver Hoxha on the Relations With the European Countries, The Stand of Albania Towards the So-Called European Security

As is natural and understandable, our party and government have devoted special care to relations with neighbouring countries and, in a wider framework, with the European countries. Our stands towards them are that the political blocs of the superpowers are the cause of its misfortune. This is where the divisions and splits in Europe, the frequent tensions and confrontations between different countries of this continent, have their source.

That policy which seeks to persuade the European peoples that by sheltering under the atomic umbrellas of the superpowers, their freedom, national independence and the general peace are allegedly guaranteed, is an extremely dangerous policy and a fraud. This policy does not ensure these things, but sacrifices them. The fact is that in the name of future security, present-day security has been sacrificed, sovereignty has been crippled and the freedom of action and independent stands of many Eastern and Western states in the international arena have been restricted.

The Helsinki declaration has been presented to the European countries as a guarantee of their independence and sovereignty and a means to ensure peace. We have clearly expressed our attitude towards the Helsinki Conference and the so-called European security.

Socialist Albania did not take part in it and denounced it as a farce hatched up by the two superpowers with the objective of guaranteeing and strengthening their respective spheres of influence in Europe, of legalizing and perpetuating their domination on this continent. The events that have occurred in Europe and around it since the Helsinki Conference have completely corroborated and justified the stand of Albania. Time has shown that the so-called "Helsinki spirit", "peaceful collaboration", "the free circulation of people and ideas", etc were nothing but hollow-sounding slogans to deceive the European peoples, to arouse the illusion in them that the danger of war is allegedly being removed and that the maintenance of the imperialist status quo in Europe is their salvation.

Our view is that only resolute opposition to American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the liquidation of military blocs and the removal of atomic weapons and foreign troops can ensure the peace in Europe.

Comrade Enver Hoxha on the Situation in the Balkans

The problems of the Balkans are the same as those which are worrying Europe as a whole, but here, because of the strategic position which this peninsula occupies and the old feuds, the conflicts are more acute and the dangers greater.

The situation is made even more complicated by the fact that the superpowers, proceeding from their hegemonic interests and their desire to transform the Balkans "permanently into a powder keg", are trying to arouse chauvinist passions and sentiments, to set the Balkan peoples and countries against one another, to prevent the relations between them from developing normally and in a positive direction, and to undermine the strengthening of friendship between neighbouring peoples.

The dangers in the Balkans are increased especially due to the participation of some countries of this region in the military and economic blocs of the superpowers, the existence of foreign military bases, and permitting the American and Soviet fleets to enter their territorial waters and stay in their ports, etc.

Such developments create tensions and are fraught with dangers for the Balkan peoples. In every direction and aspect they are in opposition to the sincere efforts and desires of the peoples of the Balkans for the establishment of trust, understanding and genuine collaboration between the countries of our peninsula.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania upholds the view that at present the genuine aspirations of the peoples of the Balkans, peace and stability in this zone, can be served best by not allowing the imperialist superpowers to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of our region and by taking concrete and constructive steps for the positive development of relations on the basis of the good neighbour policy. The situation in the Balkans would be greatly improved if the Balkan countries undertake officially not to allow the superpowers to threaten or endanger other neighbouring countries from their territories. In the future, just as in the past, Socialist Albania will consistently adhere to this policy and will make every effort to ensure that mutual respect and genuine understanding prevail in its relations with the neighbouring states.

Comrade Enver Hoxha on the Relations of Albania With Yugoslavia

Albania has been guided by these principles and these aims in its relations with Yugoslavia, too. It has been predisposed to and has made all efforts for the normal and correct development of good neighbourly relations, such as those in the field of trade, transport, cultural exchanges and in other fields of mutual interest.

In our relations with Yugoslavia we have always proceeded from the fact that our peoples have been living beside one another for centuries, that frequently in history they have had a common fate, that when foreign invaders have attacked one they have not spared the other.

As a result of these things, irrespective of the ideological and political contradictions which have existed and still exist between our two countries and which are already known world wide, irrespective of the ideological polemic which has been and is being developed by the two sides, we always seek to live in peace with Yugoslavia, as good neighbours, without interference in each other's internal affairs and respecting the rights of each.

The policy of Socialist Albania towards Yugoslavia has always been constant, unaltered in its foundations and principles. If there have been ups and down, improvements and deteriorations in Albanian-Yugoslav relations, this has come about not through any fault of ours, but through the fault of the Yugoslav leading circles. The present deterioration in the relations between the PSR of Albania and SFR of Yugoslavia also is a consequence of chauvinist actions of the Belgrade authorities towards the population of Kosovo and their incitement of a new campaign of hostility against our country.

As far as the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is concerned, the attitudes and behaviour of Yugoslavs towards it will not make it waver from its principles or make it change course. Its desire is that the state relations in different fields between the two countries should develop normally. However, this will depend on the stand of Yugoslavia towards Socialist Albania and on its treatment of the Albanians of Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia.

On the Problem of the Albanians Who Live on Their Own Territories in Yugoslavia

The problem of the Albanians who live on their own territories in Yugoslavia is not a problem of a "minority" which has immigrated to or settled somewhere in an "empty" zone as an economic immigration, is not a result of the onslaught of the Ottoman Empire, nor of the natural demographic increase of Albanians, which is worrying the great-Serb neo-Malthusians. The Albanians in Yugoslavia constitute an ethnos, a people formed centuries ago, who have their own history, language and culture, an autochthonous people who, as is known, were cut up and were separated from their motherland by the imperialist great powers and annexed to Yugoslavia. This nobody can conceal. Any other interpretation is arbitrary, a flagrant and harmful falsification of history.

The Albanian people did not allow the Fascist occupiers or anyone else to determine the motherland of the Albanian ethnos. The Albanians have fought unceasingly for centuries against many savage enemies, much greater in numbers, in order to defend their national identity and their very existence. In all these wars, both in defeat and in victory, in the long years of enslavement, throughout their history, the Albanian people have never lost their national identity and national consciousness, their compactness and unity. In all circumstances they have manifested these things with an extraordinary and exemplary vitality.

The empires and the great powers were quite unable to wipe out the compact ethnos of Albanians, nor were they able to assimilate them or to alter their culture, language, habits and customs. The very existence of the Albanian people proves this. History shows that without any support from foreign powers, which have always been opposed to them, the Albanian people have fought successfully for the freedom and compactness of their nation, to defend their independence as a sovereign state, their culture and their own natural and legitimate rights. At all times they have achieved victory only by fighting and shedding their blood for it.

During the Second World War, the Albanian people and the peoples of Yugoslavia fought together and as close comrades-in-arms against the Italian and the German fascist invaders. The Albanians who live in Yugoslavia also fought heroically together with us and all the peoples of Yugoslavia against the same enemies. Not only did they fight together, but our national liberation army went to the aid of the Yugoslav partisans and the Kosovo brothers, and the blood of the sons and daughters of the Albanian people was shed on their land. We acted as the Communist Party of Albania taught us, with a high level of consciousness and internationalist spirit. We thought that the peoples of our two countries would win freedom in this way, that enslavement would be eliminated and the tragic mistakes of past history would be corrected.

We believed that after the victory everything would be settled in the Marxist-Leninist way. Our communist parties, which led the national liberation war in the two countries, were a guarantee for this. However, our belief in the "communism and internationalism" of the Yugoslav leaders, our trust in their words, proved to be unjustified. In fact, the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia never took a proper Marxist-Leninist view of the question of the future of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, therefore this question was bound to be settled, as it was settled, in a wrong and distorted fashion, in an utterly anti-Marxist, nationalist and chauvinist way.

The wrong solution of this great issue of principle began at the 2nd meeting of the anti-Fascist National Liberation Council of Yugoslavia, held at Jajce, in November 1943, where the Albanian regions in Yugoslavia were used as a means to adjust the proportions of the territories and populations of the republics of the federation, and more precisely of Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro. The future of the Albanians in Yugoslavia was decided a priori from above, without the approval and self-determination of the Albanian people of Kosovo and the other Albanian regions of Yugoslavia, and without the slightest consultation with the ally of the peoples of Yugoslavia directly interested in this question—People's Albania. Contrary to the "policy of national equality" proclaimed at the 2nd meeting of the Avnoj, the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia unjustly violated the will of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, expressed at the meeting of the 1st founding conference of the National Liberation Council for Kosovo and Metohia, held at Bujan from December 31, 1943 to January 2, 1944, which was completely in conformity with the right of "self-determination up to secession" of the peoples who constituted Yugoslavia, and which had been defined in the fundamental documents of the communist party and the national liberation movement of Yugoslavia.

In regard to consultation with People's Albania on the settlement of this historical problem, the Yugoslav leadership a priori considered it unnecessary. It was against such consultation, because it knew that a principled Marxist-Leninist friendly discussion between the leaderships of our two countries, taking also into account the free will of the Albanians living on their own land in Yugoslavia, would lead to a just solution and not to an arbitrary chauvinist and nationalist solution, such as that which the Yugoslav leadership undertook.

After the war, in 1946, a delegation from our country, which I headed, paid the first official visit to Yugoslavia. In the talks which were held with Tito on this occasion, he wanted to know what I thought about the solution of the question of Kosovo and the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia. I expressed the opinion of the Albanian side that Kosovo and the other regions inhabited by the Albanians belonged to Albania and should be returned to it. The Albanians fought to have a free and sovereign Albania, with which the Albanian regions in Yugoslavia should now be united. President Tito replied: "I agree with your view, but we cannot do this for the time being, because the Serbs would not understand us." This official promise of Tito's on this great issue of principle was not accompanied with any further action on the part of the Yugoslavs. The whole thing was a fraud on their part.

The fundamental error of a nationalist and chauvinist character of the Yugoslav leadership, which was followed by other equally grave errors in connection with the legitimate and natural rights of Albanians who are now accused by the great-Serbs of being "chauvinist", "nationalist" and "irredentist", lies in the wrong solution at Jajce, in the dividing up of Albanian territories and in the denial of the expression of the free will of the Albanians. The recent events in Kosovo and the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia have their source in this very wrong and anti-Leninist solution of the national question in Yugoslavia, and especially in regard to the Albanian entity of about 2 million inhabitants, nearly as many as the total population of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Right from the start, Serbian, Montenegrin and Macedonian chauvinism followed a savage nationalist policy of oppression and discrimination against Albanians in all directions, in education, culture, the economy, etc.

Even in the period when there were good relations between our country and Yugoslavia and between the two parties, the problem of the Albanians in Yugoslavia was a "ball and chain" on the legs of the Yugoslavs. They did not examine the Albanians' demands and causes of complaint, did not settle them politically through understanding, but settled them with violence, with savage administrative measures. The Albanians were accused of nationalism and this was done to cover up the Serbian chauvinism and nationalism. Nothing can cover up or justify the bloody reprisals against the Albanians of Yugoslavia in 1945, 1968 and again in 1981, the discrimination imposed upon them, leaving them in poverty, the national oppression, the denial of their rights and great discrimination in the field of education and culture. The falling into disgrace of the great-Serb group of Rankovic in 1966, and later that of the other great-Serb group of Nikezic marks the period of the Titoites' political demagoguery towards Kosovo and the Kosovars. The need to balance the various forces within the federation led to a certain formal revision of the status of Kosovo which, from a simple region of Serbia, was called an "autonomous" region of Serbia.

Whether the Serbs liked it or not, this new situation gave the Albanians in Yugoslavia, and especially the Kosovars, possibilities to extend their schooling, to set up the University of Pristina, to develop their culture, to learn the history of their people, to establish contacts and educational-cultural and economic relations with Albania, on the basis of the laws of the federation and official agreements between the PSRA and the SFRY. However, the economic base of the Autonomous Socialist Region of Kosovo still remained too weak and was neglected. Its assets were still unscrupulously exploited by the other republics of the federation, especially by Serbia. All the "solutions", which were presented with great clamour during this period, were unavailing, temporary and useful only to Belgrade and Skopje. According to the occasion, without saying so openly, they were considered either as "opportunistic concessions of Tito's", as occurred among the Serbs, or as "victories achieved thanks to Tito", as they were loudly proclaimed by some Albanian leaders of the Autonomous Socialist Region of Kosovo. Meanwhile the masses of Albanians did not nurse many illusions, because what was given them was very little compared with the major rights which they had been denied and robbed of.

The events which have occurred since the death of Tito have shown how wrongly and on what an anti-Marxist course the national question in Yugoslavia, and especially the question of the Albanians, had been settled. A heavy and bloody blow was dealt to their lawful demands, recognized in the constitution, by the Serbian chauvinist leadership and the whole Yugoslav leadership after the demonstrations which were held in Kosovo in March and April this year, apart from the deplorable economic situation, savage national oppression is being imposed on the Kosovars and all the other Albanians in Yugoslavia more than at any other time. A reign of terror has been established over them, the Serbian police and army have been poured in and the jails are packed with young men and women. The measures which are continually being taken are directed not only towards the elimination of any legitimate rights and those few gains which appeared in the development of education and culture, but also towards the denationalization of the Albanians in Yugoslavia. And this is being done by those who claim that they respect the documents of the Helsinki Conference about freedoms and human rights. World opinion must not remain indifferent, but ought to be alarmed about this tragic situation of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia.

After all, what did the Albanians demand in the mass demonstrations which were held in various towns and villages of Kosovo?

The Albanians in Yugoslavia have demanded more than once, through peaceful demonstrations and without demonstrations, that their constitutional, economic and socio-cultural situation should be corrected and put on the right road within the laws of the federation. They demanded the status of a republic within the SFRY. They did not demand either secession from the federation or unification with Albania. However, the just and lawful demands of the students, workers, peasants and intellectuals of Kosovo went unheeded. Moreover, as at other times when they had presented such lawful and just demands, they were described as nationalist, were persecuted and bloodily suppressed.

Can these problems be solved in this way in our times? Never. It is impossible to keep a people, whose territory contains great wealth and is plundered by others, in poverty and want. It is impossible to keep a valiant people, like the Albanians, under the threat of tanks and bayonets. It is impossible to distort or eliminate their history and ancient culture. It is impossible to wipe out their patriotic sentiments and love for their homeland.

If the present Yugoslav leadership proceeds on the course it has chosen and is pursuing, the opposition of the Albanians will continue, will grow and become even more acute. Only a solution of the national question, which is well considered by the two sides without passion, a solution which is accepted and approved by the people of Kosovo, can eliminate this very complicated situation which has been created not by the people of Kosovo, but by great-Serb chauvinism. The people of Kosovo proposed the fairest and most suitable solution in this situation, which is difficult for Yugoslavia and for themselves. The demand to raise Kosovo to the status of a republic within the federation is a just demand. It does not threaten the existence of the federation. Instead of being reasonable, the Serbian and Yugoslav chiefs sent in the tanks, shed the people's blood and now they are going ahead on a wide scale with their famous differentiation, that is, police investigations: Who was for and who was against demonstrations. To act in this way, first with terror and then allegedly with "differentiation", means to try to intimidate the masses who cannot be intimidated, to eliminate their patriotism which cannot be eliminated, to have the illusion that you have calmed the situation when you have aroused indignation and anger, to think that you have brought "trustworthy people" into the state power which you have purged of "nationalists", etc, when you have only impelled the whole people to silent resistance, who tomorrow will raise their voices with greater force against the atrocities which are being committed. The Yugoslav leaders do not want to understand this situation.

Because we state these truths openly and demand that the problem of Kosovo and all the Albanians in Yugoslavia, which has been settled wrongly, should be re-studied with cool heads, avoiding the use of violence and terror, because we demand an end to the persecutions and the release from jail of the boys and girls of Kosovo, they accuse the PSR of Albania of interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia and even of inciting the disturbances in Kosovo and elsewhere. And how is it allegedly inciting these disturbances? By means of official educational and cultural relations. They even go so far as to claim that the PSR of Albania is making common cause with Albanian political reaction in exile, which we have always fought with all our strength.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. The opposite has occurred. The Yugoslav revisionists plotted to bring about the liquidation of the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania and the incorporation of Albania into the Yugoslav Federation as its 7th republic, aiming in this way, through an annexationist and imperialist course, to resolve the problem of the whole Albanian nation once and for all. However, these plots did not succeed and they will never succeed. Albania is not and never will become a means of regulation to calm the conflicts and contradictions between the Yugoslav clans. It belongs to its people, a people full of vitality, valiant and patriotic, who fear no one.

Albania has never made the territorial claims against Yugoslavia, and no demand for border readjustments can be found in its documents. While maintaining this stand, however, we have not denied and never will deny the fact that a good part of the Albanian nation and people lives in Yugoslavia. We have defended the legitimate rights of our Albanian brothers across the border and we shall continue to defend them in the future with all our might and in a Marxist-Leninist way, and this is not interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. This is our undeniable right.

The question of Kosovo is a tragedy. The Yugoslav authorities must cease their terror and persecution of the Albanians, eliminate the national oppression, and recognize all the rights due to them. To solve the problems justly, they must talk calmly, without heat and on terms of equality with the Albanian population in Yugoslavia.

Comrade Enver Hoxha on the Relations With Greece

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has devoted special care to strengthening friendly relations with Greece. In recent years these relations have assumed further development in all fields. Commercial exchanges have been extended and are developing successfully to the advantage of both sides. The collaboration in the field of culture, the coming and going of artistic groups, the reciprocal visits of people of art, education and science, have assisted our peoples to become better acquainted with one another's achievements and progress. They have served to strengthen the ancient and traditional friendship which links our two countries. Convinced that the relations of friendship and understanding between Albania and Greece fully respond to the common interests and aspirations of our peoples, the PSR of Albania will make every effort to extend and develop these relations in the future.

We note with satisfaction that the Greek Government and the Greek people also are predisposed to and desire that the relations between our two countries should proceed on the basis of friendship and good neighbourliness. The sentiments of the Albanian people and the Greek people are in accord in many directions. They wish each other well and rejoice at each other's progress, proceeding from the principle that each is master in his own house and his own affairs. The friendship between the Albanian people and Greek people is a lasting friendship, which will unceasingly be strengthened and flourish in the interests of our people and peace and security in the Balkans. Efforts by anyone to break this friendship will fail. We are convinced that now all the conditions and possibilities have been created, so that through common efforts any obstacle can be removed and broad avenues of development of fruitful relations with mutual benefit can be opened between our two friendly countries.

On the Relations With Italy

We are ready to work with Italy for the further development of normal relations in conformity with the aspirations and interests of our two neighbouring peoples. Many links have existed between Albania and Italy in various fields such as those of trade, transport and cultural exchanges etc. Our peoples have always wished to live in peace and friendship with one another. Although several times in the course of history they have been divided and set at loggerheads, they have tried to come together, to collaborate and strengthen the atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding.

The possibilities exist for further progress in Albanian-Italian relations. It is our desire that they proceed well, but this depends also on the predisposition and interest of the Italian side to collaborate with Albania in a new spirit, in friendship and complete equality.

On the Relations With Turkey

The relations of our country with the Republic of Turkey have developed and are developing more and more in the spirit of friendship and collaboration. The growing goodwill and respect between our two peoples and countries create a good basis for the further extension and strengthening of these relations in the future.

During their history, the Albanian people and the Turkish people have had friendly links and affinities with each other. The Turkish people, who have an ancient history and culture, have had great respect for the valiant men of Albania, for the scholars, philosophers, statesmen, architects, writers and poets of Albanian birth or origin, who have made their contribution to the efforts of the Turkish people for progress.

The Albanian people have special admiration and respect for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, that outstanding personality and statesman, who, with great courage and inspired by democratic progressive ideas, liberated Turkey and its valiant people from the complex of enslaving other peoples, which characterized the sultan's empire, consolidated the unity and genuine independence of the Turkish nation and set Turkey on the course of democracy and progress.

The Albanian people have been aware of the feelings of goodwill towards Albania held by Kemal Ataturk who opposed King Zog, the tyrant of the Albanian people.

The sincere friendship of the Turkish people towards the Albanian people and the lofty spirit of Ataturk can be seen clearly in their fraternal sheltering of hundreds of thousands of our brothers from Kosovo, who were driven from their lands in Yugoslavia. We thank the fraternal Turkish people for this and for their friendship towards the Albanian people, a friendship which is reciprocal.

On the Relations With France

Positive new steps have been made in our friendly relations with the French Republic. We appreciate the efforts of the ever more numerous well-wishers of Albania in France to strengthen the friendship between our two peoples. The Albanian people, for their part, nurture friendly feelings and have respect for the talented French people, for their revolutionary traditions and their progress.

On the Relations With Other European Countries

As in the past, we sincerely desire that the relations of our state with Austria, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland and Portugal should be further developed and extended in the positive and friendly direction they have taken in recent years.

The post-Second World War British governments have adopted hostile, anti-democratic stands towards new Albania. Apart from this, they seized the Albanian gold plundered by the Hitlerites and to this day are still exploiting it in their own interests, by not returning it to the rightful owner Socialist Albania.

In these circumstances, can there be any talk of diplomatic relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and Britain? The British Government must immediately return the gold to Albania together with the interests accrued from the arbitrary exploitation of it. Let no one doubt that Socialist Albania will defend its interests and will fight against injustices which have been or are being done to it.

There are no insurmountable difficulties to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Federal Republic of Germany. We believe that with understanding on the part of both sides over certain questions that remain suspended since the second world war, this situation can be put in order.

On the Relations With the Countries of Eastern Europe

The profound principled ideological and political disagreements of our party and state with the countries of Eastern Europe are well-known. While not relinquishing the struggle against modern revisionism we are for the normal development of relations, for trade exchanges on the basis of equality and reciprocal benefit with Romania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and Hungary.

On the Relations With the Arab Peoples

A sincere and ancient friendship links the Albanian people with the fraternal Arab peoples. We have supported and will continue to support to the end and energetically the just struggle of the Arab peoples for the liberation of the Arab territories occupied by the Israeli Zionist aggressors and the re-establishment of all the legitimate rights of the martyred Palestinian people. In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and in the Albanian people, the heroic Palestinian people and their lawful representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, have had and will always have sincere friends and resolute defenders of their just national cause.

We note with particular satisfaction the friendly development of the relations of our country with Algeria, Syria, Iraq, Libya, Lebanon, Tunisia, Egypt, and other Arab countries. We desire that these relations should find further concretization and development. Likewise, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is for friendly relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran and will spare no efforts for their development and strengthening.

On the Relations With the African Peoples

The Albanian people and their government have welcomed and supported the just struggle of the African peoples to eradicate colonialism and racism from the Continent of Africa and have supported the efforts of the freedom-loving peoples of African countries to cope with the aggressive, neo-colonialist and predatory policy and activity of imperialism. With Tanzania, Guinea, Mali, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and other friendly countries of Africa, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania maintains friendly relations and is for further development of them.

On the Relations With the Countries of Asia

Our country has good relations also with a number of countries of Asia. With the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, with Laos and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, our relations are developing in a friendly way and we express our desire that they should be further strengthened in the future.

In regard to Cambodia, our party and state have condemned the bloodthirsty activities of the Pol Pot clique, a tool of the Chinese social-imperialists. We hope that the Cambodian people will surmount the difficulties they are encountering as soon as possible and decide their own fate and future in complete freedom without any "guardian".

On the Relations With China and Japan

Now is it known world-wide that, apart from formal diplomatic relations, there are no other concrete relations between our country and China. This situation has been created through no fault of ours. It is a consequence of the hostile, anti-Albanian policy and activity of the Chinese leadership.

The establishment of diplomatic relations with Japan also creates the conditions and opens the way to the development of trade between our two countries.

On the Relations With the Countries of Latin America

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has normal relations with Mexico, Peru, Argentina, Panama, and other countries of Latin America. It is ready to establish such relations also with other states of this continent which are for a friendly approach and for trade and cultural exchanges with our country.

On the Stand of Albania Towards the United States of America and the Soviet Union

With the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which are the most ferocious enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples and of peace and security in the world, our country does not maintain and will not maintain any relations. As in the past, we shall always continue our resolute struggle for the exposure of their aggressive and hegemonic policy and activity.

In the future too, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will continue to work for the development of the international relations in the positive direction. In this spirit it will spare no efforts in the United Nations organization and other international organizations to make its contribution to the defence of the interests and aspirations of the peoples.

The principled foreign policy followed by our party and country expresses the aspirations of the Albanian people and enjoys their complete and boundless support and backing. In the future, too, our party will struggle for the consistent and resolute implementation of this policy, which ensures the freedom, independence and national sovereignty of our people.

Comrade Enver Hoxha on the Struggle Against Revisionism and on the Revolutionary and Liberation Movement at the Present Stage

In the period since the congress, our party, standing loyal as ever to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, has continued the struggle against modern revisionism uninterruptedly. The ideological and political criticism against Khrushchevite, Chinese, Yugoslav and West-European revisionism has been made more profound. The historical and socio-economic conditions of the birth and spread of these trends have been brought out more clearly, and the process of degeneration of those communist parties which took the course of revisionism, their mistakes and concessions in strategy and tactics, have been analysed more extensively. The connection of modern revisionism with the strategy which imperialism adopted after the second world war for the destruction of socialism and the suppression of the revolution and the people's liberation movement, has been proved in the light of facts from the past and the present.

These analyses and conclusions have helped the party to recognize more clearly the dangers which threaten socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country from revisionism and to take more effective and appropriate measures to avert these dangers. They have also helped in the education of the communists and the masses, the enhancement of their theoretical level and the tempering of their revolutionary consciousness. The more profound knowledge of the strategy and tactics of imperialism and revisionism have made our struggle in defence of the cause of the proletariat and the peoples even more effective.

The correctness of the course which our party chose right from the start to oppose revisionism and fight it to the end has been and is being proved more and more each day by the political degeneration and the profound ideological crisis of modern revisionism, by the grave economic situation and the impasse in which the revisionist parties and the countries where they are in power have landed.

When our party began the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism, the communist parties which made common cause with Khrushchev looked, more or less, like a united bloc, with a single line, which was that of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Today, however, 20 years later, they are split and divided into many trends and factions, are fighting and clashing with one another and have been overwhelmed by bourgeois nationalism and social-democratic opportunism. These former communist parties have been transformed either into genuine parties of the new bourgeoisie ruling in the countries where the revisionists are in power, or into component parts of the structures of the bourgeois state, as in the old capitalist countries. The crisis of modern revisionism is a direct expression of the crisis of capitalism and the bourgeois ideology in general.

The revisionist betrayal and the restoration of capitalism in a series of former socialist countries have created great confusion about the problem of socialism, which is the nub of the ideological struggle going on in the world today. The problem is that the revisionists present the capitalist society re-established in their countries as a pure socialist society, as "real socialism", and as "developed", or moreover "very highly developed" socialism.

The fact that many parties and different political forces, which are far removed from scientific socialism, talk about socialism, as well as the efforts which the bourgeoisie and its propaganda make to distort the true socialist ideals and to alienate the masses from the struggle for the triumph of these ideals, add even more to this confusion.

Clarity on this question, the establishment of a clear-cut dividing line between genuine socialism and pseudo-socialism, is of capital importance to waging the struggle of the working class and the working masses successfully. If it does not have a clear concept of socialist society, if it does not abide by its principles and universal laws, the revolution stops half-way. The revolution may be carried out, but when it lacks the genuine socialist perspective it can deviate, and the struggle and sacrifices made for this triumph will be in vain.

Comrade Enver Hoxha on Yugoslav Revisionism

The first trend of revisionism in power, which set itself the task of undermining socialism, was Yugoslav revisionism, which emerged at a key moment of the struggle between socialism and imperialism.

The roots of Yugoslav revisionism go back a long way. It did not appear for the first time in 1948, nor did it come about as a reaction against "Stalinism" or as a consequence of actions of the information bureau. It is a consequence of bourgeois outlooks which existed much earlier in the communist party of Yugoslavia and were not eliminated during the national liberation war.

The new Yugoslavia could not be built without a clear orientation and without political maturity based on the scientific theory of socialism. Only a strong communist party with sound Marxist-Leninist principles could carry out this great work. True, a communist party existed in Yugoslavia, but it did not have all these characteristics and did not develop them during the war. On the contrary, it lost even those it had after the war, when, because on the circumstances, it was called upon to build the new Yugoslavia on the socialist road.

If you listen to the self-praise of the Titoites and the Yugoslav bourgeoisie you might believe that such a party has existed and still exists. Like the others, we Albanian communists also fell for this euphoric judgement, especially during the time of the war and in the first post-liberation years. This sentiment had its own logic, linked with the heroic fight of the peoples of Yugoslavia, which was led by the communist party.

After the liberation of Yugoslavia major deviations from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism appeared, in theory, in political stands, and in the construction of socialism. Likewise, in its relations with the socialist countries, especially with Albania, grave deviations and an arrogance and conceit alien to a communist party were observed in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

It was clear that this course would eventually lead to a split, as it did, not for any fault of the Information Bureau, of Stalin and "Stalinism", as the Yugoslav revisionists and their friends like to describe Marxism-Leninism. The conflict with the Information Bureau was a result of contradictions between the liberal-opportunist views of the Yugoslav leadership and the Marxist-Leninist views on the construction of the socialist state and socialist society. Tito and his associates gave to their opposition to the Marxist-Leninist theory the colour of opposition, first towards Stalin, and later, towards the Soviet socialist system.

The Titoites's change of course had to be and was made. They took the course towards capitalism by adopting and commencing the building of a "new" socio-economic structure and a new form of state government appropriate to an anti-socialist course, and this was the system of "workers' self-administration". In fact this was not a new system. It was neither socialist nor a Yugoslav creation. It originated from Proudhonism, from Bakunin and Kropotkin's anarchism, that Marx in his time, and later Lenin, and still later Stalin, had thoroughly exposed.

Sensational claims were made and unprecedented hosannas shouted about the Yugoslav turn towards capitalism, while glory was heaped upon "Barabbas". The Yugoslav deviation was trumpeted as a "new period", as a "new trail" blazed by Tito for the construction of a "humane", specific socialism. This turn was supported and financed by imperialism and world capitalism. Pan-Yugoslav megalomania was fanned up and Yugoslavia was presented as a "champion of and example for the peoples of the world in their liberation struggle".

In the forms and the terminology used in its structure and superstructure, the whole "self-administration system" had to be presented as "Marxist". In fact, however, it was totally opposed to Marx and the theory and practice of Leninism.

The first blow was struck at the state power of people's democracy, which was a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but which was never described as such in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav revisionists justified this by claiming that the state power of the people's councils, which had been established during the war and existed until 1948, could not be retained as such with all its prerogatives. It had to be replaced with the "workers' councils", because, according to them, the former was allegedly statist-bureaucratic, which gives birth to bureaucracy and the stratum of the new bourgeoisie, while the "workers' councils" were a state power closer to Marx's theory. By means of these councils, allegedly "it is the workers themselves who lead and govern directly" without the intervention of the state, which, as it must result from the logic of the Yugoslav leadership, is not theirs. Thus, the existing Yugoslav state remains merely a "guarantor" that this "new system" is not damaged, does not disintegrate and, to this end, the federation controls only the army, the UDB, foreign policy and nothing else.

Hence, the "self-administration system" decentralized, liberalized and undermined the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The state was a state of "proletarians" and became a state of "workers". It was a state "which emerged from the war, from the base", while the "new system", which the "dialectical" development allegedly required, was established from above by Tito and Kardelj.

The leading role of the party in this system had to be liquidated and in fact it was vitiated. All that was left to the party was a wishy-washy educational role, without any weight in the whole rigmarole. In appearance the party was not eliminated, but in reality it ceased to exist. It was called the "League of Communists", so as to give it the closest possible resemblance in name to that used by Marx, to remove it as far as possible in fact from the role which Marx and Lenin define for the communist party.

The Titoites present the matters as though, with its "self-administration" Yugoslavia has entered the stage of development approaching communist society. Proceeding from this, they claim that the state is beginning to wither away and the party can no longer have that role and those functions it had in the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Moreover, according to them, "self-administration" has also done away with the class struggle within the party, within Yugoslavia and outside it. In reality, Tito, Kardelj and their successors changed the direction of the class struggle. They waged and are waging it to defend their "self-administration" system against "supporters of the Information Bureau", "Stalinists", "dogmatists", etc. In fact, this is the struggle of capitalist elements against revolutionaries, of the capitalist system against the socialist system, and the bourgeois ideology against Marxism-Leninism.

The Yugoslav theoreticians indulge in gross misrepresentation in connection with the ownership of the means of production. According to them, the socialized ownership of means of production, which exists in the "self-administration" system, constitutes the highest form of socialist ownership, while state ownership constitutes its lowest form. The latter, they claim, can be defined as a kind of state capitalism which gives birth to a new bureaucratic caste, which in fact collectively possesses the right to ownership. Hence, they conclude, even in socialism state ownership does not eliminate the alienation of the worker, which is caused by capital.

The capitalist relationship, profit-workers' wages, is replaced with the relationship, state accumulation-workers' wages. In other words, they claim that the worker always remains a wage-slave in both social systems.

This is a well-known Trotskyite thesis which was exposed and refuted long ago. In genuine socialist society, in which the common property is managed by the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the broad, organized and effective participation of the working class and the other working masses, according to the principle of democratic centralism, and in which great differences in the distribution of the social product, which lead to the creation of privileged strata, are not permitted, the worker is not a wage-slave and is not exploited. Proof of this is the reality of socialist Albania, where the working class is the class in power which, under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party, runs the economy and the whole life of the country in its own interests and in the interests of the whole people.

Yugoslav "self-administration", which allegedly makes the worker the centre of everything, is workers' "self-administration" only in theory, in practice it is anti-worker, anti-socialist. Regardless of the clamour of the Titoites, this system does not permit the working class any right to manage of administrate.

In Yugoslavia each "self-administrative" enterprise is an independent organization in its economic activity, while the policy of administration is in the hands of its leading group, which, just as in any other capitalist country, manipulates the funds of accumulation and makes the decisions on investments, pay, prices and distribution of the products. It is claimed that all this economic-political activity is approved by the workers through their delegates. But this is a deception, a great fraud. These so-called workers' delegates make common cause with the ruling caste of bureaucrats and technocrats to the detriment of the working class and the other working masses. Those who make the law and determine the policy in the "self-administrative" organization, from the lowest to the highest level in the republic, are the professional administrators. The administrative, socio-economic and political leading role of the workers, of their class, has been reduced to the minimum if not totally eliminated.

By inciting particularism and localism, on the scale of republic, region and commune, the "self-administration" system has liquidated the unity of the working class, has set worker against worker as individuals by fostering selfishness, and as collectives by fostering competition among enterprises. On this basis, the alliance between the working class and the peasantry has been undermined, too, and the peasantry likewise divided into small private economies and exploited by the new bourgeoisie in power. All this has created autarky in the economy, anarchy in production, in the distribution of profits and investments, in the market, in prices, it has led to great inflation and unemployment.

The idea that the working class is in the leadership of the system of "workers' self-administration" in Yugoslavia is a false illusion, a utopian idea. In that system the working class is not in command, is not the leading force. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been liquidated. The leadership of the working class, the communist party of the League of Communists, as it is called in that country, does not run either the state, the economy, the culture or social life.

In that system of general confusion some other force has seized the dominant positions of political leadership. This force is the new caste of political bureaucrats and technocrats from the stratum of the intelligentsia, which has become bourgeois, and the worker aristocracy. It is far removed from any proletarian morality and no political control is exerted over it.

This new bureaucratic stratum advertises itself as the enemy of statist bureaucracy, although it is an even more dangerous bureaucracy, which is flourishing and growing stronger in a decentralized economic system which protects and develops private property.

The "workers' self-administration", which is based on the ideology of anarcho-syndicalism, has given birth to republican nationalism which has gone so far as to draft its special laws and regulations to defend its own narrow interests. The economic monopoly of the republics which is comprised of the monopoly of their enterprises and trusts, has turned, in fact, into a political force and into a republican nationalism, which is manifested not only in each republic but in each region, each commune and each enterprise. Everybody, individually and as group and a republic, strives to enrich himself further and more quickly at the expense of the others at all costs.

Bourgeois nationalism has become firmly established in Yugoslavia and the slogan "unity-fraternity", which was correct during the national liberation war, when they were fighting against the occupiers and local reaction for a new society based on Marxism-Leninism, has remained an empty slogan without effect in the present-day Yugoslav system which splits and divides everything. The "unity-fraternity" of peoples, nations and nationalities, of republics and regions, can be realized only in a genuine socialist system which is guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Yugoslav federal union was not created on Marxist-Leninist foundations, hence, undoubtedly national antagonisms were bound to arise, as they did in fact. The system itself is the bearer of these contradictions and nurtures the separatism of nations and nationalities, republics and regions.

The many credits from world capitalism have also operated in this direction. The use of them to satisfy the bourgeois megalomaniacal tastes and whims of the caste in power, their unequal distribution, without sound criteria, amongst the different republics created economic and social inequalities in the republics and regions, which have further deepened the national antagonisms.

The system of "self-administration" would not have lasted long had it not been assisted by two factors: the anti-Sovietism of the Yugoslav leadership, which was nothing but its anti-Marxism and anti-Leninism through which it ensured the political support of the whole of world reaction, and the all-round economic support by means of large credits from capitalist countries. Nevertheless, these two factors could not rescue this anti-socialist system. On the contrary, they further weakened it and have driven it towards economic and political bankruptcy.

Kardelj and Tito laid the blame for the failure of this system and all the evils to which it gave birth on the "failure to perfect" this system properly, on the consciousness of working people "which was still not up to the proper level", the existence of the bureaucracy, etc. They saw the bankruptcy of their anti-socialist system, but were quite unable to turn back. Hence, all the measures which Tito took when he was alive, providing for the leadership of the federation and the republics after his death, are palliatives. The euphoria the "self-administration" system, disappeared together with Tito and Kardelj. Tito's successors find themselves in great confusion and perplexity and do not know which way to turn to emerge from the difficulties afflicting their country. Now Titoite Yugoslavia is in the grip of a grave general crisis of its structures and superstructures, an economic and political-moral crisis.

Comrade Enver Hoxha on Soviet Revisionism

Soviet revisionism has been and still is the most dangerous current of modern revisionism. More than any other variant of revisionism, it retains its socialist disguise and Leninist phraseology in order to cover up the present-day capitalist reality of the Soviet Union and its aggressive imperialist foreign policy. It is a revisionism which has seized power in a state which is a great power and has ample means and possibilities to exert its influence on the world, to operate in many directions and on a large scale.

Like the other revisionist currents, Khrushchevite revisionism also has its own process of birth and development until it reached its present form of total revisionism which distorts all the issues of the Marxist theory and socialist practice. As a social phenomenon, Khrushchevite revisionism also has its own ideological, social and historical roots and causes.

The Party of Labour of Albania has made a profound Marxist analysis of these causes. It has drawn conclusions from this analysis and taken a series of measures to bar the way to the birth of such a regressive phenomenon in our country. However, we must delve ever deeper into this problem in order to ensure that revisionism will never gain a foothold in Albania.

Right from the start, the Khrushchev group set itself as its main task to liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. To undermine the foundations of socialist society, to set the Soviet Union on the capitalist road and turn it into an imperialist superpower. Now we can all see this great counter-revolutionary transformation which has occurred in the Soviet Union. Only the bourgeoisie and imperialism advertise it as a communist country. By presenting the present-day capitalist Soviet Union as a socialist country, they want to discredit Marxism-Leninism and genuine socialism.

Khrushchevite revisionism is the ideology and policy of state capitalism which dominates the whole life of the country. The Soviet Union's return to capitalism could not fail to have its own special features, and the capitalist order there could not fail to assume special forms. These special features and forms are determined by the fact that capitalism in that country was re-established as a result of the overthrow of socialism, as a result of a retrogressive process, unlike the capitalism of the classical type which follows the overthrow of the feudal order, as a progressive process.

The fundamental peculiarity of this type of capitalism is that here many socialist forms of property, organization and management are retained, but their content has changed radically. Today in the Soviet Union the means of production are, in fact, state capitalist, or collective capitalist property, because they are used in the interest of the new bourgeois class which is in power, and because it is precisely this class which appropriates the labour of workers and peasants.

The former law, traditions and practices have been replaced with new ones, which allow the state bureaucracy and the bureaucracy of the party a free hand to express and apply their own will without hindrance. The new competences, which they were given on the basis of the economic reforms, were used to secure and extend the incomes and privileges of various leading castes, to preserve their power and defend them from the discontent and revolts of the working class and the working masses.

True, the state ownership remained and the factories were not distributed to private owners, the Kolkhozes remained common collective economies and the banks were not handed over to share-holders, but what was changed was the distribution, the destination of the social product.

Although it is claimed that the principle of remuneration according to work is applied, in reality the different groups of the new bourgeoisie appropriate the surplus value created by the workers and peasants. All this robbery is presented as a kind of material stimulus apparently to encourage productive activity, scientific work, artistic creativity etc. In reality, this is a typical capitalist exploitation.

In order to open the way to the re-establishment of capitalism, the Khrushchevite revisionists attacked the fundamental theses of the Marxist-Leninist theory about commodity production and the operation of the law of value in socialism. In theory and practice they identified socialist commodity production with capitalist production. On this basis, they reformed the whole economic mechanism. Gradually, the economic enterprises and many institutions as well, went over to a greater independence from the state plans.

Great powers and rights were given to the directors of various institutions and enterprises to direct and manipulate production and distribution, to employ and dismiss people, to divide the profits, etc. The centralized state financing of the existing enterprises was restricted and the use of self-financing and credit was gradually extended.

The Soviet revisionist claim that their economy is managed and developed on the basis of plans, allegedly drafted according to the principle of democratic centralism. However, the state plan, as they conceive it in theory and apply it in practice, is not and cannot be in any way a plan of a genuine socialist economy. In the Soviet Union, bureaucratic centralism of the monopolist type coexists with extensive economic liberalism at the base. The image is given of a planned management of the economy, whereas in practice the economic laws and categories of the capitalist mode of production have free fields of action.

Parasitic consumption has assumed unprecedented proportions. On the basis of the nominal pay, the difference in remuneration between workers and the bureaucratic and technocratic administrators of production reaches a ratio of more than one to ten, while together with the incomes from the division of profits, from all kinds of bonuses, and from countless other privileges, the difference in pay reaches even greater figures. These differences in pay and way of life can hardly be distinguished from those which exist between the bourgeois administrators and the workers in the countries of the West.

In the conditions when 35-40 percent of the pay for the value of labour power is formed in a decentralized way from the division of profits, when the work norms are not unified and are likewise applied in a decentralized way, when the material stimulus in favour of the new bourgeoisie has absolute priority, and when inflation, caused especially by the militarization of the economy which gobble up one third of the national income, is constantly rising, in essence, the society has lost real control over the amount of labour and consumption, which are two main keys for a socialist economy.

These and a series of other measures of a capitalist character, which were trumpeted as a creative development of the Marxist-Leninist economic theory and practice, had as their aim and led to the demolition of the foundations of the socialist economy.

The circumstances of this course are apparent in the daily life of the Soviet people. On the market there are shortages of prime necessities, inflation, unemployment and the fluctuation of labour power have increased, declared and undeclared increases in prices of various goods can be seen. The private sector of the economy has extended, the doors have been flung open to foreign monopoly capital, and the black market, speculation, embezzlements, bribery and fraud are rife.

The present-day Soviet reality shows that the process is not moving towards the "elimination of class distinctions" and the "creation of a new social unity," as the Khrushchevite-Brezhnevite revisionists propagate, but towards profound social differentiation between the new bourgeois class, comprised of the stratum of bureaucrats and technocrats, and the broad working masses, who are in the position of a simple producing force. The greater the degree of exploitation of the working people and the more the profits of the bourgeoisie increase, the deeper the gulf between them is growing. This situation has given rise to a whole ideology and policy which justifies and defends this new system of capitalist exploitation.

The Soviet power is no longer of Soviets, of the workers and peasants. It is isolated from them and has become like a force in itself and alien to them. The Khrushchevite revisionists have formally proclaimed the dictatorship of the proletariat liquidated. They have named the state the state of the entire people, in order to hide the reality that it is no longer of the people, but a dictatorship of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. Its capitalist character is clearly apparent from the whole internal and foreign policy which it pursues, a policy which serves the interests of the bourgeois class in power.

The Soviet state, which has the main means of production in its hands and runs the whole economy, has been transformed into a representative and defender of the interests of the ruling class.

In order to preserve their socialist disguise and "to prove" that the Soviet Union is a socialist country, the Soviet revisionists say that there is only one party there, that this party is a communist party, and its leading role has been sanctioned in the constitution. The fact that there is only one leading party and that its undivided power is recognized by law does not make it a communist party. There are many bourgeois countries where there is only a single ruling party. The position of a political party in the state does not determine its character. The character of a party is determined, first of all, by to which class it belongs and whom it serves, by what ideology it is guided, and what policies it pursues.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union today is the direct representative of the bourgeois class in power, exercises power on its behalf, and serves the development and strengthening of the restored capitalist order. It is communist only in name. The maintenance of the name communist and its use of certain Marxist phrases and socialist slogans have a hypocritical and simply demagogic character. This is part of that deceptive propaganda which wants to keep the masses in the dark and make them believe that they are living in socialism and not in a capitalist society of oppression and exploitation. From tradition, for purposes of disguise, or simply out of inertia, many parties retain such names as "democratic," "popular," "socialist," etc, at a time when they are typically bourgeois reactionary parties.

The revisionist-capitalist policy, which is applied in the Soviet Union, has revived the old demerits of the czarist empire, such as national oppression, anti-semitism, Slav racism, Orthodox religious mysticism, the cult of military castes, the aristocratism of the intelligentsia, bureaucracy in the old Russian style, etc. The theories of the Soviet revisionists about the alleged creation of a "historic new community," of the "unified Soviet people," have been invented precisely to conceal the reality that the Soviet Union is rent with profound social, class and national contradictions.

It is the strength of the Soviet army which dominates in the Soviet Union today. The stepped-up rate of militarization of the life of the country and the heavy burden of military expenditure, which has reached astronomical proportions and is shaking the Soviet economy more and more profoundly, distort its development and impoverish the people.

The re-establishment of capitalism in the country could not fail to lead also, to a drastic turn-about in the sphere of international relations and the foreign policy of the communist party and the Soviet states. Khrushchevite revisionism was gradually transformed into the ideology and policy of the new imperialist superpower, which justifies and defends its expansion, aggression and wars for the establishment of world domination. Offspring of this ideology and policy are the notorious theories of "limited sovereignty," the "international division of labour" and the "economic-political and military integration" of the countries hand and foot and transformed them into vassal states. At the 26th Congress of the CPSU Brezhnev called these relations "relations between peoples" in order to wipe out any nation and state identity in this way.

In order to attain its expansionist, neo-colonialist objectives, Soviet social-imperialism has created a theory according to which no country can liberate and defend itself from imperialism and develop in an independent way without Soviet aid and tutelage. It misuses the slogan of "internationalist aid" in order to undertake aggressions and to plunder the wealth of other countries.

The whole aggressive, hegemonic and expansionist foreign policy of the social-imperialist Soviet Union is further proof and evidence that the Soviet order is a capitalist order, because only a capitalist order can pursue such a policy in the international arena. As Lenin said, foreign policy is a continuation of the internal policy, and the two together are a concentrated expression of the economic relations which exist in a country. The socialist and communist disguise, which the Soviet revisionists still try to retain, is being torn from them day by day in the face of their capitalist reality and the social-imperialist policy which they pursue.

As to how long this great deception of the Soviet people, that they are allegedly living in socialism, can be kept up, how long the Soviet working class will continue to live with illusions -- this depends on many factors, internal and external. As to what awaits the countries in which Khrushchevite revisionism is ruling, the events in Poland are very significant. The fact is that there the class conflict between the working people and the bourgeois class in power, represented by the revisionist party, has burst out. Irrespective of how it has been manipulated by the forces of the right, in essence, the revolt of the Polish working class shows that it has become conscious of its position as an oppressed and exploited class, that the existing state power in Poland belongs to a class antagonistic to it and that socialism betrayed. Which will be the next after Poland? The processes of class differentiation are seething, and class conflicts are building up rapidly in all the revisionist countries. The Soviet Union makes no exception in this direction, although outwardly it looks as the most stable among them. The wounds which the restoration of capitalism has opened can be healed only with the overthrow of revisionism and the re-establishment of socialism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha on Chinese Revisionism

Our party has waged a great, open, principled struggle against Chinese revision, the ideology, policy, stands and actions of the Communist Party of China. Chinese revisionism is an opportunist current in the world communist movement and its foundation -- Mao Zedong Thought, is an ideology with archaic features, an amalgam of ancient Chinese theories of Confucious and Mencius and new paraphrased theories, without any organic structural connection, painted up with a Marxist phraseology. Mao Zedong Thought represents a hegemonic ideology of world domination, based on a heterogeneous collection of contradictory and pragmatic theorems and ideas. When China began the construction of the new Chinese state, which emerged from the liberation war, the Chinese ship wallowed confusedly, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, in the waters of this ideology. This was the source of those vacillations of China and that lack of definition of the character of its political and economic system.

The theory which guided the new China was not Marxism-Leninism. The Marxist slogans in Chinese characters painted on the facade gave the false impression that some features of scientific socialism existed. They prevented the continual deviations from being clearly discerned.

While the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat was being stressed in China, the dictatorship of rival groups and personalities was concealed and developed under it. While the leading role of the party was stressed, this concealed a chaotic organization and the non-existent leadership of the party. While there was talk about the hegemony of the working class the leading role, in fact, was left to the peasantry, because it was its petty-bourgeois ideology which predominated in China. While there was talk about the alternation of class structures, in essence, nothing changed from what it was.

The Chinese economy went on limping badly, lacking any clear directive or perspective, irrespective of the existence of the so-called plan which did not have the remotest resemblance to a scientific plan, let alone a plan based on a centralized system. Indeed, it did not have even the features of a decentralized plan. The Chinese economy carried on by its own momentum.

In this flabby organization and in this ideology with no backbone, the predominant idea was that of the hegemony of the great Chinese state which "had been called upon by history" to present the new model of socialist society, to represent the "Marxism-Leninism of the new era", which was Mao Zedong Thought.

In this development of China we had to discern that under the cloak of "revolution" lurked counter-revolution, that under the cloak of Mao Zedong Thought lurked anti-Marxism, a trend of modern revisionism which was seeking political, ideological, organizational and state forms and structures appropriate for the "Chinese continent" and for its capitalist-imperialist aspirations.

The "anti-imperialism", "anti-Sovietism", and "anti-Americanism", which were alternately stressed in Mao Zedong's China, were temporary manoeuvres. They were not ideological convictions, were not principled stands, but were manoeuvres to balance the powerful states of the world, a game on the world chess-board with the imperialist political-military powers for the strengthening of China.

It was with these world outlooks, with these eclectic, opportunist stands, both on the internal plane of China and on the external plane, that the "proletarian cultural revolution" of the Red Guards was carried out and that the revanchist "revolution" of reactionary old men and all the remnants of the old China is taking place today. These were the foundations on which the ill-fated theory of "three worlds" and of "alliances of these three worlds" was worked out and the big switches were made in Chinese international policy with very dangerous consequences for world peace.

It took our party a fairly long time to discern this anti-Marxist course of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state, with which we had good friendly relations. For our party the theoretical-political essence of this friendship was very important, the question of the struggle to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the question of socialism and the revolution were important.

At first we waged a principled struggle through debates, as between comrades, but gradually it became embittered because of the anti-Marxist attitude of China. On the part of the Party of Labour of Albania, this was a struggle with no concessions, but also an unequal and difficult struggle. Had not this struggle been waged the construction of socialism in Albania would have been endangered.

The importance of the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania lies in the fact that it destroyed two myths: that of China as a country in which socialism was being built, and that of Mao Zedong Thought as the Marxism-Leninism of our time. In this struggle to defend principles our party took account of all the economic difficulties which might be created for the country.

Mao Zedong Thought, publicized as the "further scientific development of Marxism-Leninism", might have had an influence, as it did in fact, on the international communist movement and on certain Marxist-Leninist parties in particular. Because of many circumstances, these parties, being quite unable to make a profound analysis of this revisionist ideological trend, thought that in great China and in Mao Zedong they had the leaders of the proletarian revolution, resolute supporters in the struggle against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, natural defenders of the just national liberation laws of the peoples.

Hence a principled and determined struggle had to be waged in order to undeceive the deceived. The Party of Labour of Albania undertook this struggle. This is an experience we have lived through and proved, both in the time when Mao Zedong himself was alive and after his death. Socialist Albania did not become isolated in the world on account of this struggle, as the Yugoslav revisionists claim. The opposite occurred. The Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania made their internal and international positions even stronger.

In this struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism and the revolution and to oppose the pseudo-Marxist ideology of Mao Zedong Thought, other sister Marxist-Leninist parties, too, fought with wisdom and revolutionary determination and made a valuable contribution.

The exposure of China as a non-socialist country and of Mao Zedong Thought as an anti-Marxist theory wiped out a dangerous illusion in the international Marxist-Leninist movement, just as had occurred with Soviet and Yugoslav revisionism and the other reactionary revisionist currents.

Any disguise, any falsification, any deviation from the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism cannot be kept up for long. Sooner or later it is exposed, because it runs counter to the ideals of the working class and the peoples who fight for freedom, for genuine democracy, for socialism, for a society without exploiters and exploited.

The present developments in China, the whole home and foreign policy of the Chinese leadership, prove that the analyses and conclusions of the Party of Labour of Albania were absolutely accurate and correct. The Chinese leadership left the field free for the development of the capitalist economy, opened the doors to the inflow of enslaving foreign capital, united in close alliance with American imperialism and the blackest international reaction. China came out openly as an aggressive imperialist power with pretensions to world hegemony. It has become one of the main centres of world counter-revolution, which fights with all means to hinder the liberation of peoples and strangle the revolution. Today Chinese revisionism has emerged openly as a reactionary current, has broken off any connection, not only with the revolutionary and liberation movements, but also with any democratic and progressive movement. In every case it takes the side of the most sinister, most obscurantist and fascist forces in the world.

The disorder, corruption, confusion and clashes, which have occurred and are occurring in China, are direct consequences of Mao Zedong Thought. The criticism which the Chinese leaders today make of Mao Zedong has nothing at all in common with the Marxist criticism which we make. It has no connection with the content of his ideas which the present Chinese leaders retain and apply in practice. Their criticism is an expression of the struggle for power between different rival Maoist groups. These groups cannot reject Mao Zedong, because all of them find support and justification for their actions in his ideas. Without freeing themselves from Mao Zedong Thought, the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese people will be unable to find the right road which leads to socialism.

In the future, too, the Party of Labour of Albania will continue its consistent principled struggle for the complete exposure of Chinese revisionism, for the establishment of a clear-cut dividing line between Marxism-Leninism and the anti-Marxist ideas of Mao Zedong. Without denouncing and rejecting Mao Zedong Thought, without combating and eradicating any influence of it in the revolutionary movements, there can be no serious talk about the struggle against Chinese revisionism or against modern revisionism as a whole, the Marxist-Leninist movement cannot be properly consolidated and developed and the cause of the revolution carried forward successfully.

Comrade Enver Hoxha on Eurocommunism

The more the contradictions of capitalism and imperialism deepen, and the closer the wave of the revolution approaches, the more the other revisionist current -- Eurocommunism -- reveals its anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary features.

Eurocommunism is a product of the degeneration of the communist parties which took the course of revisionism, and of the split which occurred in the revisionist camp as a result of the predominance which bourgeois nationalism assumed within this camp.

It is the ideology of the worker aristocracy, fed with crumbs from the profits of the bourgeoisie. Eurocommunism, which is the purest ideology of bourgeois reformism, plays the role of the "fifth column" in the ranks of the workers' movement.

The Eurocommunists, who were the most ardent supporters of the campaign against Stalin, allegedly to return to Lenin, have now united openly with the whole chorus of the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats to attack Lenin and Leninism. The very term "Eurocommunism" is an expression of their departure from Marxism-Leninism, of their denial of the universal laws of the revolution and the construction of socialist society. The Eurocommunists have exhumed from the grave and put into circulation again the old opportunist theories of La Salle and Bernstein, Kautsky and the 2nd International, which they publicize as the last word in the creative development of Marxism in our days. The open attack from anti-communist positions all along the line against the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism is the logical end of all modern revisionism and all its trends.

The Eurocommunists' preachings about the supraclass capitalist state, about democracy for all, about the peaceful, parliamentary democratic road to socialism, about structural reforms within the framework of the bourgeois constitution, etc., have only one aim: to sabotage the revolution and defend and perpetuate the capitalist order. When the Italian, French or Spanish revisionist talk about the "historic compromise," the "historic bloc of the left," etc., or when they struggle to get into the bourgeois governments, they do this not in order to wrest power from the bourgeoisie, not to liquidate the capitalist order, but to protect it from the revolution and to take over the management of the affairs of the bourgeoisie themselves. They want to replace social-democracy, which is now compromised and discredited in the eyes of the masses as an open servant of the bourgeoisie, in this role.

While they prettify capitalism, the Eurocommunists express open hostility to socialism. According to them, no true socialism exists or ever has existed up till now. For them the "true socialism" is that which they themselves have invented, the so-called "democratic socialism", "pluralist socialism", or the "third road".

The "socialism" envisaged by the Eurocommunists is a socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without the undivided leadership of the communist party, without the Marxist-Leninist theory. In this socialism, state power will belong to all classes, the different parties will come to leadership according to the votes they receive in elections, and the Marxist ideology will coexist with all the other ideologies, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and religious. Different forms of the economy, the socialized property and private enterprise, imperialist capital and the multinational companies, will exist in the socialism of the Eurocommunists.

Hence, in this so-called pluralist society, classes, parties, ideologies, different forms of property, socialist and capitalist elements, will combine and coexist in complete peace and harmony in the economy and policy, in the base and superstructure and the whole life of society. However, such a mongrel capitalist-socialist society has never existed and never can exist. It can exist only in the imagination of the Eurocommunists. Socialism and capitalism are two mutually exclusive social orders. The new society advocated by the Eurocommunists is nothing but the present-day capitalist society painted in socialist colours.

The emergence of Eurocommunism was publicised loudly by the bourgeoisie which hoped that its reformist ideology would overshadow the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism. It hoped that Eurocommunism would extend widely and become a banner to unite all the revisionists of the West and the East. But its hopes were completely dashed. In the Eurocommunist parties themselves the factions and splits increased, while between the different Eurocommunist parties the struggle for leadership began. The squabbles and divisions with the other revisionist parties became even greater. Marchais' party abandoned the Eurocommunist camp and is moving closer and closer to the Soviet revisionists. The Communist Party of Spain has split up into different factions, into orthodox and heretic Eurocommunists, into pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet groups. Meanwhile Berlinguer's party is experiencing a grave ideological and political crisis. The most important thing is that the Eurocommunist parties have lost much of the influence they had among the masses, and this can be seen in the defeats which they are suffering continually in the election campaigns, which they consider their main battlefield.

On the Importance of the Spreading of Marxism-Leninism as a Task of First-Rate Importance To Carry Forward the Revolutionary Process in Every Country and on a World Scale

The ideas of genuine socialism have been and remain a great force to inspire, mobilize and organize the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

Today there is no need to invent new "socialisms" or to copy the so-called socialism of the modern revisionists, such as the Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese and other models, which are socialisms only in name.

There is nothing unknown about what socialism is, what it represents and what it brings about, how it is achieved and how socialist society is built. A theory and practice of scientific socialism exists. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach us this theory. We find the practice of it in that rich experience of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union in the time of Lenin and Stalin, and we find it today in Albania, where the new society is being built according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

As Lenin said, socialism will look different and will have its own special features in different countries as a result of the differing socio-economic conditions, the way in which the revolution is carried out, the traditions, the international circumstances, etc. But the basic principles and the universal laws of socialism remain unshakeable and are essential for all countries.

The Marxist-Leninists carefully study the revolutionary processes in their own countries, as well as the national and international conditions in which they take place. They are not dogmatic either in theory or in practice. For them, Marxism-Leninism, as a dialectical materialist world outlook, is a living creative doctrine in ceaseless development.

The Marxist-Leninists are not conservative and fanatical, as the revisionists and the bourgeois charge. On the contrary, they are the most progressive people, resolute fighter against everything outdated and backward. They stand firmly on the positions of the new and fight with all their might for its victory. The revisionists and all the other opportunists who, as lackeys of the bourgeoisie, defend a lost cause, defend an obsolete order of oppression and exploitation, are conservative and reactionary. It is precisely this reactionary position which has plunged modern revisionism into a profound crisis.

The liberation of the consciousness of the proletariat and the peoples from the inhibiting influence of revisionism, the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism which points out that only correct course for the struggle and victory, is a primary task today in order to carry forward the revolutionary process in each country and on a world scale.

With the upsurge of the revolt and movements of the masses, with the awakening of the national and class consciousness of the people and from the fact that the world is facing great socio-economic upheavals, this task becomes even more urgent.

All the enemies are striving to alienate the masses from the revolution. The bourgeoisie, social-democracy, the modern revisionists and the opportunists of every hue are doing everything in their power to deceive the working class and the masses, to implant ideological confusion and disruption, to spread pessimism and fatalism, to arouse distrust in the revolution and socialism among the people, and to build up the psychosis that it is impossible to smash and defeat capitalism and imperialism. For these enemies, the only problem is to give capitalism "a more human face," which means that the big capitalists should continue to rule, but should throw a few crumbs to the poor. The bourgeois ideologists, the apologists of Soviet imperialism, the advocates of the theory of "three worlds," of "non-alignment" and the North-South dialogue, the pope of Rome and the trade union bosses are all united in this joint chorus.

Great pressure is being exerted on the European working class. Because of the domination of reformism the workers' movement in Europe still has not developed into a genuine revolutionary movement. It has not gained full awareness that in order to change its situation the capitalist system must be replaced and socialist society established.

However, the European proletariat will not go on for ever obeying the trade union bosses and social-democratic and revisionist parties who prattle that a better future for the working masses will be ensured through the development of the existing bourgeois structures, the parliamentary road, through reforms, or through "united Europe."

The oppression, violence, savage exploitation, unemployment, drugs, degeneration and inflation which have swept the countries of Europe will not be able to restrain the sound forces of the European peoples from revolting against the rule of capital. "United Europe" is nothing but an ephemeral solution, a reactionary capitalist policy which, sooner or later, will find itself facing countless difficulties of various natures. Hence, the moment will come when the revolt of the working class of Europe will reach the point that it imperatively demands a revolutionary solution."

In these conditions, it is of first-rate importance that the communists and non-communists, progressives and all the masses of the people should clearly understand that their real enemy is capitalism, that it must and can be overthrown through revolutionary struggle. In this way, pessimism will be eliminated, and their courage and confidence in victory will be increased. The science of Marx and Lenin builds up this confidence of the proletariat and the masses and makes it invincible.

The party and the proletariat that are preparing for the revolution and the seizure of power try to analyse and thoroughly master the situations to scientifically determine the character and stages of the revolution in every concrete instance and, on this basis, to work out the appropriate strategy and tactics. They study with the greatest care the various people's revolutionary currents which clash with capitalism and its parties, assess their directions, the ratio of forces in the concrete situation, and on this basis decide and put into practice all those skillful tactics which must be used to lead the popular masses on the correct victorious course, to channel thousands of streams into the great torrent of the revolution in which the capitalist bourgeoisie will be drowned.

On the Allies of the Proletariat in the Revolution and the Importance of the Unity of the Proletariat

The party and the proletariat do not go into revolution alone. In bourgeois society there are other oppressed strata which hate the capitalist order, there are progressive forces among the peasantry and youth, and there are other democratic and freedom-loving elements who cannot tolerate exploitation. The communists make approaches to all these forces and elements, build joint alliances with them on various issues and for definite objectives. Marxist-Leninists are neither sectarian nor liberal. They are revolutionaries, unwavering in principle but flexible in tactics. The fronts which the Marxist-Leninist parties construct with other progressive forces in the capitalist countries against the bourgeoisie, against fascism and imperialism, are a component part of the strategy of the revolution. In any alliance or front the party safeguards its own individuality, even when, for objective reasons, it does not lead the front itself.

The unity of the proletariat has been and still is the key problem in the capitalist countries. The bourgeoisie tries to clasp the proletariat in an iron grip, to prevent it from proceeding on the course which history has allocated it for the overthrow of exploiters and the destruction of the power of capital. The trade unions, which in most instances are subservient to the bourgeoisie, are one of the means of exerting this iron grip. The communists work to penetrate into and establish firm roots among the working class, and at the same time struggle to bring about its unity. Today, when the crisis has resulted in tens of millions workers being thrown out in the street and millions of others rising in strikes and demonstrations for economic and political claims, it is easier to unite and organize the workers in the struggle against capital.

The unity of the working class is achieved in struggle and in concrete revolutionary actions to fulfill the economic and political demands of the proletariat. To this end, the Marxist-Leninists work to ensure that the existing trade-unions break free from the domination of agents of the bourgeoisie, revisionists and social-democrats and to turn them into instruments of struggle against the exploiting order. Along with this, depending on the conditions and needs, they also create new revolutionary trade unions.

The youth also are a mighty force who aspire and fight to change the unjust capitalist society, who want what is new and progressive. Only Marxism-Leninism and the revolution open this road to the youth. They alone save the masses of the youth from the political and social degeneration into which the bourgeoisie leads them, open to them the prospect of a new, undefiled and happy life in which all their inexhaustible energies can burst out and be fully developed in the service of society and progress. The movement of the youth gains strength and can achieve its objectives when it merges with the revolutionary movement of the working class.

The present revolutionary process has made the problem of the stand towards the bourgeois army even more acute, not in order to consider it as the force which will carry out the revolution, but in order to disrupt and disintegrate it so that it is not capable of opposing the revolution.

The communists work to ensure that the masses of soldiers, who are sons of the people, do not obey the officer caste when the revolution breaks out, but will turn their weapons against the reactionary forces in power and unite with the insurgents, as occurred in Iran.

The revolution is the main task of the working class. But it is prepared in struggle for the solution of the political, economic, social and cultural problems which concern the working masses every day. It is these actions, these daily battles, which enhance the consciousness of the working class, which strengthen its organization and unity, which train it and lead it to revolution. By means of these battles, the party links itself with the masses and places itself at the head of them. Genuine parties of the working class are parties of revolutionary action.

In order to intimidate the masses and pave the way for the advent of fascism, big capital is inciting terrorism, which has assumed broad proportions in many countries. By means of terrorism, the bourgeoisie also tries to smear the genuine revolutionary movement and to set various elements, who revolt against the oppression of the bourgeoisie, on a wrong course. The bourgeoisie deliberately identifies the revolutionary struggle with terrorism in order to create the impression among the masses that the communists, patriots and revolutionaries, who fight against national and social oppression, are terrorists and anarchists who murder and rob. Genuine revolutionaries are against terrorism and anarchism, both in theory and in practice.

The Working Class and the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries and the National Problem

The working class and the working masses in the capitalist countries are more and more running up against the national problem which has become very acute in the present time. Social-democracy and the revisionists deny the existence of such a problem in the developed capitalist countries, such as those of Western Europe, Japan, Canada, etc. They do not want to recognize the fact that, as a result of the attack of the multinational companies behind which stands American imperialism, the extension of supra-national competences of military blocs and international economic organizations, the extension of American bases and the stationing of American weapons on their territories are more and more restricting the national sovereignty, restricting the independent political action of their countries, and turning them gradually into vassal states.

The working class must take up the defence of the sovereignty and national independence which the bourgeoisie and the social-democratic and revisionist wing have abandoned. The proletariat of Europe and other countries must not be deceived by the propaganda of the United States, the Soviet Union or China, each of which, for its own interests, makes a bogey of the threat to freedom and national independence from a rival superpower. By means of this propaganda they want to rob them of their freedom and independence and to establish the imperialist domination of this or that superpower.

The class and national movements also constitute major problem in the countries where the revisionists rule. In particular, social liberation in these countries cannot be achieved without opposing and throwing off the yoke of Soviet social-imperialism, which has established its complete economic, political and military domination there.

On the Features of Present Day National-Liberation Struggles

American imperialism and other Western capitalist powers pose as supporters of the workers and national movements in these countries, as though they support the liberation aspirations of the peoples there. This is demagoguery and a dangerous game intended to deceive the proletarians and the working masses. The imperialist bourgeoisie wants only to separate these countries from the sphere of influence of Soviet social-imperialism and to put them in its own sphere of domination.

The cause of the proletarian revolution is inseparable from the development of the people's liberation movement. An important feature of present-day national liberation struggles is that the political awakening to win and defend complete national freedom and independence is accompanied with a social awakening. The present movements of the oppressed peoples are increasingly aimed not only against foreign imperialism, but also against its agencies within the country. The fact is that regardless of their socio-economic backwardness, the peoples of the oppressed countries are displaying great vitality and making an important contribution to the anti-imperialist democratic revolution, which opens the way to the proletarian revolution.

The people's uprisings of "Islamic inspiration", as the bourgeoisie and revisionists like to describe these movements with the aim of denying their anti-imperialist and revolutionary character, deserve special attention. It is a fact that there are insurgent movements in the Muslim countries, but the interpretations which the bourgeoisie and the revisionists make of them are ill-intentioned and denigrating. They conceal enslaving aims towards the peoples.

We Marxist-Leninists have said and still say that religion is opium for the peoples. In no instance do we alter our view in connection with this question. In its content, the Muslim religion, too, is no different from the others.

The broad masses of the Muslim peoples in the different countries have risen and are rising in struggle, not over the question of religion but for national and social liberation. Belief in religion is relative and does not predominate over politics. The peoples of these countries believe in and respect Islam, but when the vital interests of the people, the freedom and independence of the country are violated, they rise in struggle against the aggressor even if he is of the same religion. It is not the religious inspiration which causes the revolts and the revolutionary awakening of peoples, but the social and political conditions, the imperialist oppression and plunder and the poverty and suffering imposed on them.

The Arabs and other Muslim peoples are valiant fighters and boast ancient culture. The anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-feudal uprisings and wars of these peoples show that they are progressive and love freedom. If this were not so, they could not rise in struggle for freedom and national independence against their double oppression, both internal and external.

In the regions inhabited by the Muslim peoples the imperialists and social-imperialists are in difficulties. Their puppets also are in difficulties. The state of affairs in these regions speaks of a revolutionary situation, of a great social movement of these peoples, regardless of the fact that, on first sight, they have a religious character, or whether the people taking part in them are believers or non-believers.

Revolutionary situations exist or are being created in many countries today, but the socialist revolution does not present itself as an immediate task everywhere. Other movements of a democratic, anti-imperialist, liberation character are developing in the world.

All these are component parts of the world revolutionary process, are just struggles which weaken the imperialist front and contribute to the acceleration of the revolutionary processes, strike blows at the capitalist system and lead to its further decay. Therefore, as Lenin teaches us, the working class, as the most progressive class, and its communist party must actively support and assist these struggles and place themselves in the leadership of them. And if initially they have not affirmed their leading positions, still they must stand in the forefront of the fight and sacrifices, because only in this way can they come to the head of the movement and achieve its objectives, only in this way can the road be opened for the development of the anti-imperialist, people's democratic revolution into the socialist revolution. In the struggle for national and social liberation, the working class and the working masses clash everyday with the savage violence of imperialism, the bourgeoisie and the forces of reaction. In these conditions, they are obliged to respond to the reactionary violence with revolutionary violence, the forms of which are and cannot but be different according to the conditions of each country and the situations in which they occur. In some countries this violence has assumed or may assume the form of the armed insurrection. The Marxist-Leninists take an extremely serious stand on this question. They combat both nihilist stands and petty-bourgeois adventurism, expose and reject both the Maoist preachings about the "encirclement of the city by the countryside" etc, and the pseudo-Marxist theories which deny the decisive role of the popular masses in the struggle and the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

On the Increase of the Role and Activity of the New Marxist-Leninist Parties

For our Marxist-Leninist parties the times are revolutionary. The new Marxist-Leninist parties are growing and tempering themselves all over the world. Their role and activity, their links and influence among the working class and masses are increasing. New parties have been created in many different countries and zones. All the conditions exist for them to be created even where there are no genuine revolutionary parties of the working class. This is an imperative fighting task of the most conscious, revolutionary elements of the proletariat.

The favourable objective situation in no way obscures the acute problems and major tasks which face the Marxist-Leninists. True, our forces are mounting continuously and the situation is developing in favour of the revolution, but reaction is active too. Despite their profound and irreconcilable contradictions, the bourgeoisie, social-democracy and the various revisionists are united on one thing -- they operate jointly in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism and the revolution. They try to implant distrust and fear amongst the masses of the people in order to alienate them from the revolution and socialism, to attack and damage the Marxist-Leninist parties in individual countries and the revolutionary communist movement as a whole.

Earlier, when Mao Zedong Thought was exerting its influence and social-imperialists were more at ease, because they knew that this revisionist current was doing its work of undermining the Marxist-Leninist movement. Now that this current has been exposed, the enemies are trying to sow confusion by spreading all kinds of pseudo-Marxist theories, to split and weaken the parties through factional struggle, to manipulate weak and ill-formed elements in various ways and impel them to revisionist positions.

Today, however, the Marxist-Leninist parties have great experience in the struggle with different anti-Marxist currents and are better armed against the tactics which the bourgeoisie and revisionists employ. This experience helps them to wage the struggle against enemies with success, to increase their vigilance, to continually raise the ideological and political level of the party members and arms them with the Marxist-Leninist theory. The revolutionary struggle has taught the Marxist-Leninist parties to strengthen their links with the masses, to go amongst the different social strata and organize them, to utilize legal and illegal work, combining them correctly in struggle against manifestations of legalism and bourgeois liberalism, as well as of narrow sectarianism and work in isolation.

On the Importance of the Strengthening of the Unity of the Marxist-Leninist Movement

In the face of the co-ordinated activity of the imperialists and revisionists against Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the peoples, the further strengthening of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement is an imperative need.

The strength of the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement lies in the correctness of the ideas for which it fights and in its unity. In their struggle the Marxist-Leninist parties are guided by the teachings of our great classics, use the rich and all-sided heritage from the Comintern, rely on the experience of their own struggle against the revisionist betrayal and bear in mind the negative experience of the parties which degenerated into revisionism. All these lessons and this experience constitute a very great ideological, political, organizational, theoretical and practical wealth for tempering and strengthening the parties' Marxist-Leninist movement in every direction.

The meetings and discussions between sister parties make a valuable contribution to strengthening the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement. In this way they benefit from one another's experience, arrive at common assessments of situations and unity of thought and action. The experience of one party cannot replace the experience of many parties. On the contrary, it is the experience of all the Marxist-Leninist parties which makes the movement invincible.

Standing loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Party of Labour of Albania has always tried and will continue to try to make its own contribution to strengthening the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement and the collaboration between the sister parties.

It is an honour for our Party of Labour to stand shoulder to shoulder with the other Marxist-Leninist parties which are equal detachments of the revolutionary movement of the working class in the great historic struggle for the cause of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism. The Albanian communists and our whole people prize very highly the solidarity, the love and trust which the sister Marxist-Leninist parties, the proletariat and the revolutionary and freedom-loving peoples display for the Party of Labour of Socialist Albania. This is a powerful support and encouragement for us. In all circumstances and in any situation our party and people will fight to perform their national and international tasks with honour, to build socialism successfully in Albania, and to ardently defend the revolutionary cause of the proletarians and the peoples.

Dear comrades, the success attained by our party under the party's leadership are considerable and the battles won magnificent. They prove that our people have inexhaustible strength and that they are optimistic and determined to engage in new battles to make their lives happier, to raise the name of Socialist Albania even higher and to further strengthen the freedom, independence and the people's power born in the flames of the revolution.

It is this magnificent reality, the unbreakable unity between the party and the people and the maturity, courage and determination of communists which assure the party and the people that the objectives to be set by this congress will be attained and surpassed.

The enthusiasm generated by the directives of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the mobilization of the working masses in fulfilling this year's tasks and, above all, the unanimous, determined and ardent support of our people for the party's domestic and foreign policy show that the country as a whole is ready and mobilized to progress with confidence on the path led by the party to achieve new victories.

Let us transform this revolutionary fervor, this profound love for our glorious party and this firm belief in the future, comrades, into a great force to achieve the tasks set forth in all fields, to overcome all difficulties that we may encounter and to further strengthen and consolidate our victories and the unshakable foundations of socialism in Albania.

Long live the Eighth AWP Congress!

Long live the heroic, talented and hard-working Albanian people!

Long live the AWP, the wise and tested leader and the organizer of all our victories on the brilliant path of socialist construction!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!